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THE

HISTORY OF ST ANDREWS, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

BY THE
REV. C. J. LYON, M.A.

MINISTER OF THE EPISCOPAL CHAPEL, ST ANDREWS.

"It was a very fine day. Dr Johnson seemed quite wrapt up in the contemplation of the scenes which were now presented to him. He kept his hat off while he was upon any part of the ground where the cathedral had stood. He said well,—that Knox had set on a mob, without knowing where it would end; and that differing from a man in doctrine, was no reason why you should pull down his house about his ears."

BOSWELL'S *Life of Johnson*.

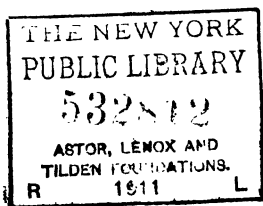
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PREFACE.

SOME account of the ancient Metropolitan See of **ST ANDREWS**—once the Canterbury of Scotland, the scene of many memorable occurrences, the seat of a University, and the nursery of the Reformation—may be thought deserving of attention in this age of general inquiry.

By nothing was St Andrews so much distinguished, from the ninth to the seventeenth century, as by its long line of Bishops and Archbishops, among whom the sons and grandsons of our Scottish Kings did not disdain to rank themselves. To an historical account of these prelates I have devoted a large, and I hope not an uninteresting portion of this work, which will be found, besides, to contain an outline of the principal events in the annals of our country. Into the

historical chapters I have introduced some well-authenticated biographical anecdotes, partly with a view to relieve the monotonous detail of facts, but chiefly to throw light on the manners and opinions of the times they refer to.

All who possess the smallest portion of antiquarian taste must mourn over the misguided zeal which, under the name of Reformation, destroyed our venerable cathedrals, on which vast expense, consummate skill, and many years of assiduous labour, had been expended. Particularly must we lament the destruction of our once magnificent Metropolitan Cathedral, which was founded under the auspices of Malcolm "the Maiden King," and solemnly dedicated in the presence of Robert the Bruce—which witnessed the marriage of the fifth James to the mother of our much injured Mary—and which beheld within its walls all the contemporary kings, and most of the nobility and mitred prelates of Scotland; and whose sacred precincts still contain the ashes of some of the most eminent primates and chancellors of the kingdom. All we can now do is to revive, as far as possible, the memory of what is gone; and in reviewing the con-

duct of our ancestors, to learn to imitate their piety, zeal, and munificence, without adopting their superstition and intolerance. Unless some benefit of this kind accrue to us from the perusal of history, it is only a waste of time to investigate its details.

I have made many quotations from Spotswood, J. Melville, Lindsay of Pittscottie, Martine, and Keith; and from the older authors, Boethius, Fordun, and Winton, who wrote before the Reformation, and the last of whom was a canon in the priory of St Andrews. All these writers, but particularly Fordun and Winton, furnish much interesting information relative to the ecclesiastical history of the place, and I was only deterred, by the fear of being thought prolix, from quoting from them more copiously than I have done.

As to what I have advanced concerning the ancient and present state of St Andrews, I shall merely say, that, notwithstanding my access to the best authorities, and my anxious endeavours to be accurate, aided by a residence of several years on the spot, I cannot hope to have altogether escaped

errors ; and where I have inadvertently fallen into any, I shall be grateful to those who may have it in their power to detect them, and will kindly take the trouble to point them out.

It will be seen that I have given a few engravings in the work, which, I trust, will be thought an embellishment to it ; and I would gladly have given more, for which there are ample materials in St Andrews, were it not that there is, as is well known, considerable expense in getting these things ably executed. I have also annexed a plan of the city, which will convey a distinct idea of its locality, and be found to answer every purpose of reference.

I may conclude with the words of the learned Dr Irving, in the preface to his *Life and Writings of George Buchanan*, and which are far more applicable to me than to him. “ To have selected so important and so difficult a subject may seem to require an apology : but if important subjects were only to be investigated by men endowed with every qualification, the number of literary productions would be prodigiously diminished. This

history claims no higher merit than that of good intentions ; and it may possibly suggest a fortunate undertaking to some more competent inquirer."

ST ANDREWS, *April* 1838.

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HISTORY OF ST ANDREWS.

CHAPTER I.

LOCALITY OF ST ANDREWS—CLIMATE—TEMPERATURE—RAIN —
WINDS—GEOLOGY—SUPPOSED ENCROACHMENT OF THE SEA.

It would be superfluous to say much on the locality of St Andrews. They who have never been at a place, cannot form a clear idea of it from mere description; and to those who have been there, description is unnecessary. I shall only say, therefore, that the city of St Andrews stands upon a rocky eminence of about fifty feet above the level of the sea; and that the view of the city and bay, as seen from the heights to the south, is exceedingly beautiful, as much so perhaps as anything of the kind in this country, having the range of the Grampian and Sidlaw hills in the distance,

A

the estuary of the Tay appearing immediately below them, the German Ocean on the right, studded with sails, and on the left, the Eden winding down its richly cultivated strath. The grey steeples and turrets of the city itself have a very venerable and picturesque appearance, and recal the most interesting historical associations; the Links to the north-west are admitted to be the best adapted of any in Scotland for the national game of golf; the adjacent sands, at ebb tide, are distinguished for being at once hard, dry, and spacious, and peculiarly adapted either for a drive or a promenade; and, lastly, the parallel ridges of rock which run out into the sea, immediately opposite the town, form, when the tide has partially retired, secure and sheltered bathing-places for the inhabitants.

The longitude of the city is $2^{\circ} 49'$ west, and its latitude is $56^{\circ} 20' 30''$ north.

The Dukedom of St Andrews is the Scottish title appropriated to one of the younger sons of the royal family.

CLIMATE.—Like the rest of the east coast of Scotland, St Andrews feels severely the north-east wind, especially during the spring months, when it is accompanied by a thick chilly mist called *haur*. This wind, however, is remarkably dry, as is indicated by the hygrometer; and it is far from being a cold wind, as is proved by the

state of the thermometer; and yet, such is its effect on the human system, from its rapid absorption of the perspirable matter, that it produces a cold and uncomfortable sensation to all who are exposed to it, and is even dangerous to persons of great age, or of delicate constitutions, unless they be accustomed to it. The same observation was made respecting the climate of St Andrews so long ago as the year 1697. In a document of that date, which I shall have occasion to quote more at length afterwards, it is stated, "This place is a most thin and piercing air, even to an excess, seeing that nitre grows upon the walls of chambers where fires are used, if there be a light to the north, and this is the reason why old men coming to this place are instantly cut off." But though the north-east wind blows chiefly in the spring, the south-west prevails during by far the greater part of the year; and is always pleasant and refreshing when not too violent. The vicinity of the sea has the effect of moderating the cold in winter, and of cooling the air in summer; so that the temperature of St Andrews is more equal throughout the year than that of places in the interior; and it has been remarked, that even in severe winters snow seldom lies long on the ground.

TEMPERATURE.—The following is the mean monthly temperature for a period of six successive

years, (viz., from 1831 to 1836 inclusive,) by observations taken at 10 o'clock A.M., and 10 o'clock P.M., from a thermometer about 75 feet above the level of the sea, with a northern exposure.

January,	-	-	-	36.534
February,	-	-	-	39.450
March,	-	-	-	41.367
April,	-	-	-	46.599
May,	-	-	-	50.798
June,	-	-	-	56.832
July,	-	-	-	60.030
August,	-	-	-	59.018
September,	-	-	-	55.370
October,	-	-	-	48.764
November,	-	-	-	42.235
December,	-	-	-	39.129

Mean temperature for the above six years, 48.010

RAIN.—There never was any regular register kept of the quantity of rain which falls at St Andrews that I am aware of, except for the years 1835 and 1836, by the late Dr Jackson, professor of natural philosophy. The fall for the first of these years was 24.28 inches, and that for the second, which was an unusually wet year every where, was 34 inches. For 1835 the fall at Elgin was 24.080, at Kinfauns 25.60, at Edinburgh 25.22, at Carlisle 34.3293, at Whitehaven 54.135, and at Kendal 55.891.

WIND.—By observations on the wind carefully taken under the superintendence of the officer of

the Coast Guard service, for the years 1836 and 1837, the following general results have been obtained.

	1836.	1837.
North and the points adjacent,	48 days.	46 days.
East do.	58 ...	86 ...
South do.	43 ...	36 ...
West and South-west,	209 ...	182 ...
Calm,	7 ...	15 ...
	365 ...	365 ..

The east wind prevails chiefly in the months of April and May.

GEOLOGY.—The rocks that compose the promontory on which the town is built belong to the independent coal formation; and consist of the materials which generally go under the name of the coal metals. The strata dip southerly and easterly at an angle of about 20° . The alternations of soft clay and calm with hard compact sandstone, conjoined with the regularity of the dip, and direction of the strata, give a peculiar feature to the coast. Near to where the old “Butts” were situated, there are several alternate strata of clay and ironstone, the latter containing about 30 per cent. of pure iron. Pieces of these are washed out, and rolled about by the sea; and used to be collected, and shipped to the Carron or other iron works. A thin bed of ferruginous limestone,

rich in encrinites and fossil shells, stretches along to the "Baths," not much above the level of the low water line. In the precipitous cliff above, near its top, is to be seen a thin seam of coal, and another at the bottom; and as we proceed round by the castle, several parallel seams may be observed, some rising above those just mentioned, and others dipping below them. This is thought to be the most northern coal of any in Great Britain. In some parts of this cliff, and among the rocks at its base, fragments of what are considered tropical palm trees are found in a state of petrification.

An egg-shaped stone, having a whitish crystallization in its centre, is also found here, which geologists conjecture to be the coprolite of the ichthyosaurus! It seems just as likely to be the egg itself.

The only two shells to be met with at St Andrews worth mentioning, are those known by the trivial names of the "razor shell," and the "pelican's foot."

Immediately abreast of the town are numerous long reaches or lakes, separated from each other by parallel ridges of sandstone rock, cropping out to the north-west. These are the regular strata already mentioned as giving a peculiar feature to the coast; only that, in this case, they are covered by the sea at high tide; and their formation is

evidently caused by the intermediate soft strata having been gradually washed away by the action of the waves.

There is a tradition, (and it is even asserted in Lyall's Geology as a fact,) that these rocky ridges were once uncovered by the sea at high water, and formed an extensive grass meadow; but there is evidence against the truth of this supposition; as, both in a plan (or rather bird's eye view) of the city in the year 1642, and in another of a much older date, (of each of which I possess a copy,) the sea is represented as coming as close up to the castle, and the rocky eminence on which the city stands, as it does at present. It is true that the castle wall on the east has been washed down by the sea, but this has been owing to the violence of the waves at high tides, during easterly winds; and where the rocks themselves have given way, as has been the case in a few instances, it has arisen solely from their decomposition. But though the sea has not encroached upon the city, where there is a rocky barrier to oppose it, there is reason to believe that it is gradually encroaching upon the links.

CHAPTER II.

TRADITIONAL ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF ST ANDREWS.

THE following is Martine's account of the supposed origin of St Andrews, as extracted from his *Reliquiæ Divi Andriæ*.*

“Some conjecture that the grand and chief occasion of the Pights, their generall and nationall turning to Christianitie from heathenisme, was as follows. One Regulus, a Greek Monk, living at Patræ, a city of Achaia, by whom the relicts of St Andrew the Apostle were preserved and kept, about the year 307, was warned in a vision by night, (three nights before the Emperor Constantine came to the citie with a purpose to translate these relicts to Constanstinople,) to goe to the shrine in which they were kept, and to take out

* Martine was secretary to Archbishop Sharp, and wrote about the year 1683. He borrows this account chiefly from Fordun's *Scotichronicon*.

thereof the arm-bone, three fingers of the right hand, a tooth, and one of the lids of the Apostle's knees, which he should carefullie preserve and carrie with him to a region towards the west, situate in the utmost parts of the world. Regulus, at first, troubled with the strangeness of the vision, after a little time resolved to obey. So, putting the relicts in a little box, he went to sea, taking compartners with him, Damianus a priest, Gelasius and Tubaculus, two deacons, eight heremites, and three devoted virgins, whose names are expressed in sundry ancient records, says Fordun in the Scoti-chronicon, lib. ii.

“ After they had, with much toyle and hazard, passed through the Mediterranean Sea, they coasted along France and Spain, and after long travell fell into the Germaine Ocean, where they were long tossed with greivous tempests : till at last, by force of a storm, the ship was driven into the bay near the place where St Andrews now stands, and there split asunder on the rocks. But Regulus and his companions were all brought safe to shore, having nothing left but the relicts, which they were carefull above all things to preserve.

“ The fame of their arrival, and of the relicts they had brought with them, being spread abroad, many of the Pights (in whose kingdom they had settled at the place now called St Andrews) resorted to them ; some for devotion, others for cu-

riosity. And amongst them, Hergustus, King of the Pights for the time, and who then had dominion of that part of the countrie, coming hither, when he beheld the gravitie and pietie of the men, and the form of their service, was so taken therewith, that he settled a constant abode for them in the same place, and took order for their entertainment. The place was then a forest for wild boars, and was called in the countrie language *Muccross*, i. e. "a land of boars," from *muc* a sow, and *ross* a land or island. Shortly after, Hergustus gave to Regulus and his company all the lands of that forest, with all the men dwelling therein, and his own palace, (says Spotswood and Leslie,) and near thereto erected a church, the same church (with the steeple yet entire) we see a pairt yet remaining on the south-east side of the ruined cathedral, (built many years after,) called to this day, the church of St Rewle.

"Here did Regulus and his company abide; himself living thirtie-two years after his arrival, serving God devotedlie; and for their austeritie of life, were in great reputation with all men. And the good and holie lives of Regulus, his companions and their successors, living in cells at St Rewle's church, was the occasion and proved the effectual meane, both for the kindly reception and good opinion, veneration, and entertainment of the Christian religion and these religious men,

amongst that bloody, savage, and barbarous people, the Pights."

Whether the foregoing story gave rise to the city of St Andrews, and the tower of St Regulus, or whether the previously existing names gave rise to the story, must be left to the judgment of the reader. But it may be mentioned, as giving some countenance to the narrative, that the foundation which, in after times, became the college of St Leonard's, had been originally an hospital for the entertainment of pilgrims who resorted hither to adore the relics of St Andrew. See the episcopate of Archbishop A. Stewart, A.D. 1509, chap. vi.

The next occurrence connected with the early history of St Andrews (and which, like the foregoing, is probably a compound of truth and fable) is thus related by Fordun.* In the beginning of the ninth century, Hungus, King of the Picts, to which nation Fife still belonged, made war upon Athelstane, a Saxon (or, as some say, a Danish) prince in the North of England, and ravaged his dominions. When he was returning home, laden with spoil, he was unexpectedly overtaken by Athelstane, near Haddington, and surrounded by a superior force. In this state of danger, he prayed earnestly to God and the saints, especially to St Andrew, vowing that he would bestow upon the

* Scotichronicon. Lib. iv. chap. 14.

latter the tenth of all his dominions, if he were delivered from his enemies. The same night the Apostle appeared to him and thus addressed him : “God, the Ruler of all things, hearing the humble prayer which you offered up through me, will tomorrow give you an easy victory over your enemies, and will cause his angel to bear the holy cross before your army. When, therefore, you return home in safety, be mindful of your vow, and delay not to fulfil what you have so liberally promised.” The king, awaking from his sleep, told the vision to his whole army, who were, in consequence, so inspired with courage and confidence, that they immediately made a furious attack upon their enemies, most of whom they put to flight, and killed King Athelstane and all his attendants. Hungus cut off Athelstane’s head, fixed it on the end of a spear, and placed it on the top of a rock in Inchgarvie, an island near Queensferry, in memory of the miraculous victory which he had won. Thus far Fordun ; but Boethius adds, that Hungus repaired to St Andrews, and more than fulfilled the vow which he had made ; for besides the tenth of his lands, he bestowed on the church the images of Christ and his Apostles in gold and silver, with a case of beaten gold, in which to enclose the relics of St Andrew ; and enacted further, that spiritual persons should not be compelled to answer for their offences before any temporal judge. These

gifts and immunities, however, Feredath, Hungus' successor, took away from the church of St Andrew, which was thought by many to be the reason why the whole nation of the Picts was soon after totally exterminated by the Scots. The latter, profiting by this hint, restored to St Andrew all that belonged to him, and acknowledged him as patron saint of their kingdom.

CHAPTER III.

THE ANCIENT CULDEES—THE FIRST CHRISTIANS IN SCOTLAND SO NAMED—THEIR MONASTERY IN ST ANDREWS—THEIR SUCCESS AS MISSIONARIES—INDEPENDENT OF ROME—CONSTITUTED THE CHAPTER OF THE CATHEDRAL OF ST ANDREWS—SUPERSEDED BY THE ROMISH REGULAR CANONS.

THERE was a religious establishment of Culdees* at St Andrews long before it became an Episcopal see. This establishment was the monastery of Kirkheuch, and was situated on the hill which overhangs the harbour, eastward of the cathedral. It was called *Ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ de Rupe*, or “St Mary’s Church of the Rock,” from a chapel belonging to it having been built on a rock, called the Lady Craig, near the extremity of the present pier. The Culdees possessed this monastery for several hundred years. They consisted

* The name is derived from *gille-de*, the Gaelic for “God’s servants.”

of an abbot and twelve secular priests, who were generally married men, and whose sons often succeeded them in their office. After the suppression of this body in the thirteenth century, the monastery was changed into a collegiate church for a provost and a few prebendaries. The provost's manse was still standing when Martine wrote in 1683.

What connection these ancient Culdees had with St Regulus and his followers, supposing there were such persons as the latter, cannot be known with any certainty.* But there is no doubt that the Culdees were among the first Christians who found their way into Scotland, that their lives and doctrines were remarkably pure, and that they were for many ages wholly independent of, and unconnected with, Papal Rome. If they acknowledged any one as their ecclesiastical head, it was the Abbot of Iona, who appears to have exercised a sort of primacy over the Christians of a great part of Scotland and even Ireland, till so late a period as the ninth century.† So

* See Sir Robert Sibbald's History of Fife, page 241.

† The monastery of Iona was their great missionary college, where young men were educated for the church, and whence, when qualified, they proceeded not only to the Islands and Highlands of Scotland, but to Ireland, and to still more distant countries. Their efforts were attended with astonishing success: yet, unlike our modern missionaries, they needed no pecuniary subscriptions. "They lived in the most plain and frugal manner, support-

distinguished were the Culdees for their piety, learning, and discipline, that, according to Buchanan, (vol. I. page 183,) some of them were sent for, to read philosophy in Greek and Latin at Paris; among whom was Clement, and Johannes Scotus the preceptor of Charles the Great. As to these early Scottish Christians being independent of Rome, the accurate and industrious Pinkerton shows that the first legate that ever appeared in Scotland was John of Crema, in the year 1125, before which time there is no trace to be met with of any papal authority in this country.* The writers of that church, indeed, wish us to believe that the Roman Pontiff exercised authority over the very earliest Scottish Bishops; but their assertions on this head are wholly unsupported by evidence. There was doubtless an occasional intercourse with Rome during the sixth and seventh centuries; and even so early as the fifth, the pope sent Palladius as a missionary to

ing themselves by the labour of their hands. Except some cattle, they had no wealth; if they got any money from the rich, they immediately gave it to the poor. When they travelled the road, people ran to them to get their blessing; and when they went to any village, (which they did only when they had occasion to preach, baptize, or visit the sick,) crowds gathered to hear them. In short, the care of souls was their only concern." See Smith's very interesting Life of St Columba, (the first Abbot of Iona,) p. 55.

* Enquiry, vol. II. p. 270.

Scotland.* What ulterior object the pope proposed to himself by this mission does not appear; but unquestionably Palladius confined himself to giving religious instruction to the people, and did not pretend to any supremacy over them.

The Cukdees seem to have spread themselves over a great part of Scotland, as is indicated by the number of places which still retain the names of their most eminent saints.† Like all the early Christians, they had their regularly ordained bishops, who, however, had at first no settled dioceses, but were elected for local and temporary purposes, and exercised their functions wherever circumstances required their presence and assistance. But in the ninth century, most of their dioceses became fixed. The first of these, in point of time, was Galloway; the second was Glasgow; and the third St Andrews. “All our writers, (says Pinkerton,) ancient and modern, concur that St Andrews was the most ancient bishoprick north

* Such at least is the common belief; but Pinkerton argues that the Scoti of that age were in fact Irish, and that Palladius was sent to Ireland, and not to Scotland.

† For example, St Marnock, A.D. 352; St Ninian, 412; St Patrick, (a native of Scotland,) 435; St Fergus, 505; St Colme or Columba, 565; St Mungo, 578; St Serf, 580; St Mun, 600; St Ronan, 603; St Fillan, 649; St Finnan, 674. In general, when the name of a place begins with *Kill*, (cell,) it shows that the saint whose name is annexed built a church or monastery on the spot. Few are aware how much, under God, our country is indebted to the pious labours of these men.

of the Clyde and Forth." As these, and other Scottish bishopricks, commenced under the auspices of the Culdees, the office of electing fit persons to fill them naturally devolved upon them; and this privilege they uniformly exercised for many ages afterwards. But in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, regular canons of the Romish orders became attached to the cathedrals, who gradually encroached upon the Culdees, and deprived them of their rights. Pope Innocent III. in 1206, and his successor, Honorius, in 1216, decreed, by their bulls, that "the regular canons should succeed to the Culdees who deceased, and that the goods and tenements of the latter should be appropriated to the use of the former." Thus the Culdees became weaker and weaker. The Kings of Scotland began, at the same time, to cast a covetous eye upon the valuable patronage of the Episcopal sees; and the Roman pontiffs, in their turn, were desirous of filling them with men who would be subservient to their purposes. This state of things gave rise (as we shall see in the sequel) to frequent contests between these different personages, in which sometimes the king, sometimes the pope, and sometimes the canons, prevailed; but in which the poor Culdees generally came off worst; till at length, in the instance of St Andrews, they wholly lost the power of election, in the year 1298, (see the

episcopate of Bishop Lamberton, chap. v.) and, from that time, ceased to have any existence as an independent body. At Dunkeld, Dumblane, and Brechin, they exercised their ancient rights till a somewhat later period, but in the end they fell into obscurity, and shared the same fate with the rest of their brethren. See the preliminary dissertation to Dr Russell's edition of Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE BISHOPS OF ST ANDREWS FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD, DOWN TO THE ACCESSION OF BISHOP ROBERT IN A.D. 1125, WHEN THE SUPREMACY OF THE ROMAN PONTIFFS WAS FIRST ACKNOWLEDGED IN SCOTLAND—BISHOPS ADRIAN—KELLOCK—FOTHAD I., &c.—FOTHAD II., &c.—MODATH, &c.—TURGOT—EADMERE.

WE read of no Bishops of St Andrews till after the destruction of the Picts by the Scots, in the middle of the ninth century. The diocese seems to have been fixed about that time ; but, for many years after, the names, and order of succession of the bishops, vary slightly in different authors. I have selected the account which I think best authenticated. The first bishop whose name is recorded is,

I. ADRIAN. About A.D. 870.

He was killed by the Danes in the Isle of

May, along with certain other churchmen, in the reign of Constantine II., son of Kenneth, king of Scotland. Part of his stone coffin is still to be seen in the said isle. Constantine himself was killed by the same ferocious people in a cave near the town of Crail, in the year 876.

II. KELACH. About A.D. 892.

He lived in the reign of Constantine III., under whom he held a provincial council in the year 906; but when he died is uncertain. Concerning this Constantine, Chalmers, in his "Caledonia," says, "There was a religious house at St Andrews, as well as an Episcopal seat. Like other monasteries, that establishment formed originally the residence of the bishop. It was to this house that Constantine III. retired, when, fatigued with the infirmities of age, and the savageness of the times, he resigned his sceptre to Malcolm I. during the year 943,* and assumed the staff. Here the aged king acted as Abbot of the Culdees; and, at the end of five years, finished his joyless career in this dreary pile." The "dreary pile" here referred to, was the Culdean monastery of Kirkheuch mentioned in the last chapter as situated on the hill immediately above

* Buchanan's History of Scotland, Book vi. p. 200. Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. II. p. 269. Chalmers makes the year 994, which is certainly a mistake, perhaps a misprint. Winton's Chronicle, vol. I. p. 177.

the harbour. It was probably from the circumstance of Constantine's retiring to this monastery that St Andrews got the Gaelic name of Kilre-mont, (Kil-re-mont), that is, the cell of the king upon the hill. There is an eminence in the neighbourhood still called Balremont.

III. FOTHAD. About A.D. 930.

It is uncertain in what year Fothad became bishop; but King Indulfus banished him from St Andrews in the first year of his reign, which was in 952. He lived an exile eight years, but the reason of his banishment is unknown. Winton, in his "Chronicle," says that this bishop enclosed a copy of the Gospels in a silver case, which, at the time he wrote, (about A.D. 1380,) was lying at the north end of the high altar of the cathedral church. During this episcopate, parishes began to be formed, and tithes to be paid to the clergy. It is certain, at any rate, that this payment was general over all the country, at least 150 years before the authority of the Pope of Rome extended to it.

IV. MALISIUS, or MAELBRIGET. A.D. 962-970.

V. KELACH II. A.D. 971-996.

VI. MALISIUS II. A.D. 996-1001.

VII. FOTHAD II. A.D. 1001-1010.

During this episcopate, there was a furious

civil war going on between Grime, king of Scotland, and Malcolm, afterwards Malcolm II. Bishop Fothad, who was held in universal esteem, grieved to see his country thus torn to pieces, went at the head of a procession of his monks, clad in their ecclesiastical robes, to Grime, and told him that he was come to him in the name of Christ, who was the minister of peace, to entreat him to have pity on their distracted nation, and to put an end to the bloodshed, and plunder, and misery which every where prevailed; offering to mediate a peace between the contending parties on terms which might be acceptable to both. Grime answered, that he had no objection to be at peace with Malcolm, provided he would concede to him his reasonable demands. The bishop next repaired to Malcolm, then at Stirling, whom he found equally disposed for peace. The result was, that commissioners were appointed on both sides, who met at Scone, and agreed to the terms of a treaty which produced a peace of eight years' continuance.*

VIII. MALMORE. A.D. 1010-1031.

IX. ALIVINUS, or ALIVIN. A.D. 1031-1034.

X. MALDWIN, or MALDOUY. A.D. 1034-1061.

The only particular recorded of this bishop is,

* Buchanan, Book vi. p. 219 Boethius. Lib. xi. p. 236. The latter calls Fothad "maximus episcopus Scottorum."

that he conferred upon " God and St Servanus, and the Culdees of Loch Leven, the church and teinds of the parish of Markinch."

XI. TUTHALDUS, or TWALDA. A.D. 1061-1065.

He also conferred upon the Culdees of Loch Leven the church and teinds of Seoonie.

XII. MODATH. A.D. 1065-1077.

Modath, like his two predecessors, granted to the same Culdees the church and revenues of Lurkendoreth. During the time of this bishop, a council was held at St Andrews for the correction of ecclesiastical abuses. " A difficulty (says Chalmers) soon occurred when the council met. The Scottish clergy could only speak Gaelic; Queen Margaret, (sister of Edgar Atheling,) who was present, and the *principal speaker*, could only speak Saxon; and the king, (Malcolm III.,) who understood both languages, acted as interpreter between them." It was at this time that the number of fixed dioceses in Scotland was augmented to six; four more were afterwards added by David I.

XIII. GREGORIUS CATHRE. A.D. 1077-1080.

XIV. EDMARUS. A.D. 1080-1091.

XV. GODRICUS. A.D. 1091-1107.

This bishop crowned King Edgar, son of Mal-

colma III. Sir James Balfour, in his "Annals of Scotland," mentions that, in the year 1093, Ethelred, Earl of Fife, second son of Malcolm III., died, and was buried in the old church of St Andrew, because he had been a great benefactor to that monastery.

TURGOT. A.D. 1107-1115.

Turgot had been prior of the monastery of Durham, and, when promoted to the see of St Andrews, was consecrated by the Archbishop of York.* He founded the parish church of St Andrews, and dedicated it to the Holy Trinity. "In the discharge of his episcopal duties, he met with many obstacles from Alexander I., surnamed the Fierce; who, though he favoured the church, was jealous of any authority which interfered with his own. And, perceiving that he had lost the influence which he had possessed while ecclesiastical affairs were directed by Queen Margaret, (to whom he was confessor,) the spirit of the old man sank within him; and, in a desponding mood, he asked and obtained permission to revisit his cell

* It was on the strength of this, and a few subsequent consecrations of the Scottish bishops, that the Archbishops of York afterwards claimed authority over the whole church of Scotland. It must be mentioned, to the credit of the Popes, that they generally took the part of the poor church of Scotland against her richer and more powerful neighbours the English.

at Durham, where he died. Besides several other works in history and theology, Turgot wrote a life of his patroness St Margaret, Queen of Malcolm III., which contains a faithful picture of that excellent woman, whose real merit far exceeds the fame of those idle miracles which have been attributed to her in later times ; for she was truly religious, virtuous, and charitable.”*

XVII. EADMERE. A.D. 1120-1122.

Eadmere is himself an author, and has left us a history of his own time, in which he has amply detailed the circumstances connected with his promotion to, and resignation of, the see of St Andrews. Soon after the death of Turgot, Alexander I. wrote a confidential letter to Rodolph, Archbishop of Canterbury, soliciting his advice and assistance in procuring a fit person to fill the vacant bishoprick ; and informing him that he wished to oppose the pretensions of the see of York over the Scottish church. The Archbishop offered him Eadmere, one of his own monks, as a person fully qualified for the office. The king, notwithstanding, delayed his acceptance of this offer for a period of four years ; during which, says Eadmere, “ he was not very solicitous to prevent the dilapidation of the episcopal revenues.” At length,

* Sir Robert Sibbald's History of Fife, p. 245.

he dispatched a special messenger to Canterbury with a letter to the archbishop, in which he severely censured himself for having so long permitted the flock of Christ to wander without a shepherd, and requesting that Eadmere might be sent to him without further delay, that "he might be enthroned in the pontifical chair." Rodolph, accordingly, sent Eadmere with a letter to the king, in which he said, "If any other should have required him of us, we would no more have parted with him than with our own heart; but there is nothing which in God we can deny you. Thus we send unto you the person you desired; and so free that you may lay on him what charge you will, so as it be to the honour of God, and to the *credit of the mother church of Canterbury*." Eadmere was favourably received, and made bishop of St Andrews, but never received regular consecration; for Alexander would not suffer either of the English archbishops to perform that ceremony, lest their doing so should be construed into a pretence for infringing on the independence of the Scottish church. This was far from being agreeable to Eadmere, who was anxious for "the credit of the mother church of Canterbury." After some delay, he submitted to receive the *Ring* from the hands of the king, in token of his subjection to him in temporalities; but he took the *Crosier* from off the high altar of the church, to shew

his independence in spiritual things. Matters being thus compromised between them, it was hoped that every thing afterwards would proceed smoothly ; but, as it soon appeared that the bishop had the interests of the metropolitan church of England more at heart than those of the church of Scotland, he quarrelled with the king, and asked leave to resign his charge and return to Canterbury. To this request the king acceded, and the bishop resumed his former station of a simple monk. He afterwards wished to be recalled to St Andrews, but Alexander would not consent.*

* Dalrymple's Annals.

CHAPTER V.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED—FROM THE ACCESSION OF BISHOP ROBERT TO THE DEATH OF KENNEDY, THE LAST BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS, IN A.D. 1466.—BISHOPS ROBERT—ARNALD—RICHARD—HUGH AND JOHN—ROGER—MALVOISINE—BERNHAM—ABEL—GAMELINE—WISHART—FRASER—LAMBERTON—BANE—LANDEL—STEPHEN DE PAY—TRAIL—STEWART—WARDLAW—KENNEDY; WITH BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF EACH BISHOP: INCLUDING A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CITY, AND OF ITS ECCLESIASTICAL, MONASTIC, AND COLLEGIATE EDIFICES DURING THAT PERIOD.

XVIII. ROBERT. A.D. 1125-1159.

ROBERT, on his elevation to this see, was consecrated by Thurstan, Archbishop of York, but under protest that no claim should be founded thereupon for asserting a jurisdiction over the Scottish Church. The first circumstance which, in chronological order, falls to be noticed under this episcopate, is the grant to Robert from Alexander I., of the famous track of land called *Cursus Apri*, or Boar's Chase; which, in point of extent, seems

to have coincided very nearly with the limits of the present parishes of St Andrews and St Leonards. The following is a translation from Boethius' account of this transaction : " He (Alexander) augmented the revenues of the holy church of St Andrews, among other lands, with that which is called *Cursus Apri*, from a boar of an immense size, which, after having made a terrible slaughter of men and cattle, and been often, at great risk, pursued by the huntsmen, was at last set upon by an armed multitude, and killed when endeavouring to make its escape across this track of land. There yet remain at St Andrews marks of its astonishing size, namely, the tusks which were extracted from its cheeks. They are sixteen inches long, and four broad, and are attached by small chains to the altar of the church," *ad sellas Divi Andriæ*.*

The next and most important occurrence in this episcopate, is the foundation of the priory of St Andrews. Robert had been previously prior

* Lib. xii. p. 263. The city arms represent a boar tied to a tree ; and there is a district in the parish called " Boar Hills." I have in my possession the impression of a seal, the original of which (if it exist) is probably as old as the time of Alexander I., representing the boar tied to the tree, with the motto, REGALIS CURSUS APRI. The inscription is SIGILL. COMMUNE CIVITATIS SANCTI ANDREE. In Anderson's Diplomata there is a copy of the seal of bishop Robert, with the following inscription, SIGILLUM ROBERTI EPI. SCOTORUM.

of the canons regular of St Augustine at Scone, and when he became bishop of this see, he determined, with the concurrence and assistance of David I. (Alexander's successor) and some of the nobility, to found a monastery of the same order in St Andrews. With this view, he brought some of the monks of Scone to his new foundation, and procured a grant from the king of the old Culdean priory of Loch Leven to be annexed to it.* Such was the commencement of the justly celebrated priory of St Andrews, which, if we may believe Boethius, was second to none in France, Germany, England, or Italy, for the magnificence of its buildings, the amount of its revenues, and the learning, piety, and virtue of its inmates. (Lib. vi. p. 106.) Winton gives a long account (vol. I. p. 293) of King David I. coming to St Andrews,

* I have seen the original of this grant, which is in the possession of Thomas Thompson, Esq., Deputy Clerk Register of Scotland. It was discovered by mere accident, lying among some waste papers in a shop. It is distinctly written on a very small piece of parchment, and is in the usual style of charters of that period, with two or three fragments of seals attached to it. The witnesses are, Robert, bishop of St Andrews; Andrew, bishop of Caithness; Walter, chancellor; Hugh de Morville; Walter, son of Allan; Nicholas, clerk. It is executed at Berwick. In this grant it is enacted that if the Culdees choose to live in their old priory of Loch Leven peaceably, and submissive to their new masters, the prior and canons of St Andrews, they might do so; but if refractory, they were to be expelled from the island, *ab insula ejiciantur*.

with many of his nobility, soon after the commencement of the priory. He was received by the bishop and clergy in their richest robes. After passing the night there, and hearing mass next morning, and making certain offerings to the church, the king repaired to the cloister of the priory. Winton then proceeds in language which I am obliged in some degree to modernize, in order to make it intelligible to the general reader :

And after all that this was done,
The king gaed to the cloyster soon :
Such a cloyster as then wes
Not such as it now is for larges ;
For neither was then made the dormitory,
Nor as it now is the refectory,
Nor such a kyrk as ye now see,
So large was made in quantity.

David wished Robert to assign the *Cursus Apris* to the new priory, insisting that his predecessor, Alexander, had bestowed it on him as head of that establishment, and not as bishop of the see. Robert contended that it belonged of right to the bishoprick, but David overruled his objections, and finally settled it on the prior and canons in perpetuity. " When some houses and the cloister of the priory (says an old MS. quoted by Sir R. Sibbald, p. 189) were so far finished as to admit as residents men of moderate and contented minds, who could wait with patience till better accommodations were prepared, Robert requested Ethel-

wolf, Bishop of Carlisle, (by letters and messengers, and through the personal solicitation of King David,) to send him from the church of St Oswald, of which the bishop was then prior, a person fit to share in his labours, and to be appointed prior to the canons he was resolved to place in the church of St Andrews." It is added, that "Bishop Robert would not appoint any of the Culdees to his new priory, because they were a secular clergy, married, and possessed of personal and heritable property, and who could not therefore be expected to conform heartily to the self-denying ordinances of the canons regular." I may here remark, that from the foundation of the priory down to the era of the Reformation, there were twenty-five priors in all, some of whom I shall have occasion to mention in the following work. Among other sources of revenue, this institution was endowed with the great tithes of twenty-four parishes, and with 480 acres near the town, still called "The Prior Acres." The income of the prior was about as great as that of the bishop, and latterly greater. He was superior of the priories of Loch Leven, Pittenweem, Portmoak, Monymusk, and the Isle of May; and by an act afterwards made in his favour by James I., he had precedence in parliament over all the other priors and abbots in the kingdom.

Bishop Robert, moreover, through his interest

with King David, procured St Andrews to be erected into a royal burgh. The first provost was one Maynard, a Fleming, an opulent merchant in the town. There was probably a considerable commerce carried on in St Andrews, even at that remote period ; but the merchants are said to have been chiefly foreigners.

It was under the reign of David I., and the episcopate of Robert, that the authority of the pope was first recognised in Scotland. David founded various monasteries, and filled them with orders of monks which were in connexion with Rome ; and received from thence John of Crema, the first legate which had been seen in this country.* There had been, before this time, occasional appeals to the pope on the part of some of the clergy, but it was only to one whom most of the nations of Europe had begun to acknowledge as a common umpire in ecclesiastical disputes. But even after the papal authority was fully admitted, neither the Scottish king nor clergy were at any time slavish upholders of it. They always treated it with respect, but often refused compliance with its demands.

XIX. ARNALD. A.D. 1159-1162.

This bishop, who has the honour of having

* He was deputed by Pope Honorius II., and held a council at Roxburgh in 1125.

founded the Cathedral Church of St Andrews, had been previously abbot of Kelso, and was consecrated to this see by the pope's legate, in the presence of King Malcolm IV., and many of the bishops, abbots, and nobility of the land. The last bishop, having begun the priory for the accommodation of the canons, the present one, with the concurrence and co-operation of the king, commenced the cathedral for the celebration of their worship, and as a necessary appendage to his own see; but he had not advanced far with the work before he died. He died (says Fordun) *in infirmatorio canonicorum*, from which it may be inferred that the bishop's customary place of residence at that time was the priory. The construction of the cathedral proceeded, as we shall see, under no less than eleven successive prelates, and was not finished till 160 years after its commencement. We may observe here, that it was the constant practice, in all ecclesiastical structures of that period, to begin with the east end, and to finish the choir with as little delay as possible, for the performance of divine service. The architects then proceeded to the transepts and the nave; each succeeding bishop or prior adding a part to the sacred edifice, till the whole was completed. The work generally went forward at a slow rate, occasioned by an anxiety to have it executed in the most approved style, and by the want of funds

to provide a sufficient number of regularly bred artificers. It often happened that so many years elapsed before they reached the west end of the church, that the architectural taste or fashion had undergone some change, in which case they finished the building according to the new taste, and then altered the eastern part to make it correspond. Of this we have an example in the cathedral here. There are still standing in the east gable three *round* arched windows, which were of the earliest date, while the later *pointed* ones are towards the west. Above those three windows there were, at one time, three others exactly similar, and of which the traces may yet be perceived ; but they were taken down in the time of Bishop Wardlaw, (see his episcopate,) and the present large incipient-pointed arched window substituted in their place.

We may further observe, that in all episcopal sees, the monastic buildings attached to them were usually situated on the south side of the cathedral, and in St Andrews they certainly were. These buildings consisted of the quadrangular cloister, (which communicated by two door-ways with the nave of the cathedral,) the chapter-house, the refectory, the dormitory, the priors' and sub-priors' houses, the hospitium for the entertainment of strangers, and the apartments of the numerous officers and dependants attached to the monastery.

It was either during this or the next episco-

pate that Malcolm IV. made a grant to the citizens of St Andrews, the original of which is preserved among the charters of the city, beautifully written on a very small piece of parchment. The following is a translation of this grant:—"Malcolm King of Scotland wishes health to all good men. Know that I have granted, and by this deed confirmed to the burgesses of the Bishop of St Andrews, all the liberties and privileges which my burgesses have in common over my whole dominions, and wherever they may repair. Wherefore my will is, and of my full power of forfeiture, I strictly command, that no person exact from them any thing unjustly. Witnesses—Walter, chancellor; Hugh de Moriville; Walter, son of Allan; Walter de Lindesea; Robert Avenel. At St Andrews."*

Winton thus mentions Bishop Arnald's death and burial.

* Grierson, in his "Delineations of St Andrews," p. 207, and other writers, both before him and since, assert that the above mentioned grant is by Malcolm the *Second*. This is a mistake. These very ancient documents, it is well known, are without date; nor did the sovereign by whom they were executed think it necessary to distinguish himself from his predecessors or successors, except by his seal, and the names of his witnesses. With respect to the witnesses to the grant in question, we know that they were all contemporary with Malcolm IV., and in the practice of attesting similar documents, of which there are many examples extant. See Chalmers' *Caledonia*. Hugh de Moriville was high constable under David I. and Malcolm IV.,

A thousand, a hundyre, sixty and three
 After the blest natyvyte,
 The good byshop syre Arnald
 To hys maker hys spyrit yhald,
 Hys body to hallowed sepulture
 In the auld kirk* there with honour.

Vol. I. p. 317.

In Boethius (Lib. xiii. p. 269) there is a speech addressed by Arnald to King Malcolm, setting forth the advantages of matrimony, and using arguments to persuade the king to marry. The speech, however, did not produce the desired result. Malcolm is said to have persevered to the last in his resolution not to take a wife, on which account, he is sometimes called by historians "the Maiden King."†

XX. RICHARD. A.D. 1163-1173.

Richard had been chaplain to Malcolm IV. When William the Lion, King of Scotland, was and founded the abbeys of Dryburgh and Kilwinning. Walter, son of Allan, was the ancestor of the royal family of the Stuarts, and founder of the abbey of Paisley. Robert Avenel was the first of the family of that name in Scotland; see Sir W. Scott's "Monastery." These, together with Walter de Lindesay (or Lindsay) and his brother William, came from England with David I., who settled considerable grants of land upon each of them. A fac-simile of the above charter has recently been executed, and published in the Statistical Account of the Parish of St Andrews.

* That is, the church of St Regulus.

† In Anderson's *Diplomata* there is a copy of a seal of Bishop Arnald, with this inscription, SIGIL. ARNALDI. DEI. GRA. SCOTTORUM. EPI.

taken prisoner by the English, this bishop, together with several of the Scottish nobility and dignified clergy, were deputed to Henry II. to treat concerning his ransom. Among other conditions of the treaty, Henry and the English bishops, supported by Cardinal Hugo, the pope's legate, tried to prevail on Richard and the prelates who accompanied him, to enter into an agreement for the subjection of the Scottish to the English church. "But on this memorable occasion, (says Tytler,) the dexterous diplomacy of the Scottish commissioners, the Bishops of St Andrews and Dunkeld, procured the insertion of a clause in the treaty, which left the question of the independence of the national church open and undecided. And at a council, held at Northampton, in the presence of the papal legate, the Scottish bishops asserted their liberty, declaring that they had never yielded any subjection to the English church." The clause which they had introduced into the above treaty was, that the English church should have that right over the Scottish "which in justice it ought to have."

* I have an impression of a seal of Bishop Richard, the inscription of which is, SIGILLUM RICARDI DEI GRACIA SCOTORUM EPISCOPI.

Winton thus speaks of this prelate's death and character :

Intil Saynct Andrys kirk he lyis
His spyrit is intil paradys.
He was, the tyme that he lyved here,
Of the kirk a stark pillere :

XXI. HUGH and JOHN. A.D. 1173-1188.

A disputed election.

On the death of Bishop Richard, the chapter chose one John Scott, an English monk, in opposition to the wishes of the king, who intended the bishoprick for Hugh, his own chaplain. "With the violence which marked his character, William immediately seized the revenues of the see, procured Hugh to be consecrated, and put him in possession; and when his rival, who had appealed in person to the pope, returned from Rome with a decision in his favour, he was met by a sentence of banishment, which involved his whole family and connexions in his ruin. Legantine powers were immediately conferred by the incensed pontiff on the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham, with a reserved authority to direct the thunders of excommunication against the king, in the event of his contumacy; and the clergy of the diocese of St Andrews were commanded, upon pain of suspension, to acknowledge the authority of the extruded primate. But nothing could shake the firmness of William.* He replied to this new sentence of the pope, by

Defendyt gart the kirk be weel
In all its freedoms ilka deal.

Vol. I. p. 330.

* On this occasion the king swore "by the arm of St James," (his favourite oath,) that Scott should not be Bishop of St Andrews.

banishing every person that dared to yield obedience to the papal favourite ; upon which, the sentence of excommunication was pronounced by the legates, and the kingdom laid under an interdict. At this critical and terrible moment, the pontiff, Alexander III., died ; and the King of Scotland lost not a moment in sending his commissioners to Rome, who succeeded in procuring from Lucius, the new pope, an immediate recal of the sentence of excommunication and interdict, and an ultimate decision in favour of the king. The mode in which this was done was ingeniously contrived to gratify William, without detracting from the supreme authority of the Roman see. The two rival candidates, John and Hugh, came forward, and resigned into the hands of the pope all right to the contested bishoprick ; upon which the pope installed Hugh, the favourite of the king, in the throne of St Andrews, and placed John in the inferior see of Dunkeld—a memorable triumph, which, at a time when the proudest monarchs of Europe were compelled to tremble before the terrors of the popedom, does honour to the courage and independence of the Scottish king.”* We have no farther account of this Hugh, except that he died near the city of Rome, to which he had repaired in order to be confirmed by the pope.

* Tytler's History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 341.

XXII. ROGER. A.D. 1188-1202.

Roger was son of the Earl of Leicester, and cousin to King William of Scotland, who made him his chancellor, and afterwards Bishop of St Andrews. He built the castle of St Andrews, in the year 1200, as a residence for himself and his successors.* Hitherto they had lived in the priory. "Ten years (says Archbishop Spotswood) this bishop stood elect; and was not consecrated before the year of God 1198, at which time Richard, Bishop of Moray, the pope's legate, performed the ceremony; the reason of which delay is not mentioned. Four years only he lived after this consecration, and died at Cambuskenneth, July 9, 1202. His remains, being with great solemnity conveyed to St Andrews, were interred in the old church of St Rewl."

In Anderson's *Diplomata* there are copies of two seals of this bishop; the first when he was elect, with the inscription, **ROBERTUS DEI GRACIA ELECTUS SANCTI ANDREE**; the other after he was full bishop, **ROBERTUS DEI GRACIA SCOTTORUM EPISCOPUS**.

* ————— This Rogere
The Erle's son was of Laycestere.
The Castell in hys days he
Fownded, and gart bygged be.

WINTON, Vol. I. p. 343.

XXIII. WILLIAM MALVOISINE. A.D. 1202-1233.

This prelate passed his youth in France, and is even called a Frenchman by some writers. He was at least of French extraction, as his name denotes. He became Lord Chancellor of Scotland; and was Bishop of Glasgow before being translated to St Andrews. He both christened and crowned King Alexander II. In the year 1215 a general council was held at Rome, which was attended by the Bishops of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Moray, and the Abbot of Kelso. After their return, Malvoisine, and the Bishop of Glasgow, (by the command of the pope,) held a council at Perth, with a view to promote an expedition to the Holy Land; at which, says Fordun, many noble persons were present, few of whom, however, showed much disposition to enter into the scheme. This bishop founded the monastery of Scotland Well on the north side of Loch Leven. He also wrote the lives of St Ninian and St Kentigern; and died at his palace of Inchmurtach, (now Smiddy Green,) near St Andrews, and was buried in the Cathedral Church. "The rents alienated by his predecessors, or lost by their negligence, he recovered to his see; advanced the fabrick, (which was then a-building,) more than any that went before him: and suffered no man,

of what quality soever he was, to usurp upon the church or possessions of it.”*

Malvoisine resigned the chancellorship of the kingdom in 1211, in which year King William appointed William de Boscho, Archdeacon of St Andrews, in his place.

XXIV. DAVID BERNHAM, OR DE BENHAM. A.D. 1233-1253.

The canons wished to appoint Gilifred, Bishop of Dunkeld, to the metropolitan chair; but the king interfered, and bestowed it on his great chamberlain, Bernham, who was accordingly installed on the 22d January, (St Vincent's day,) 1233, by the Bishops of Glasgow, Caithness, and Dunblane. This bishop performed the ceremony of crowning Alexander III. at Scone. During his episcopate, Pope Gregory IX. summoned a general council at Rome, and called to it, among others, the Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow. The Emperor of Germany, however, who had his reasons for hindering this council from assembling,

* Spotswood, lib. ii. He is said, however, to have delighted in the pleasures of the table, rather than in the austerities of the cloister. It is recorded by Fordun that he deprived the Abbey of Dunfermline of the tithes of two parishes, because its monks had neglected to supply him with wine enough for his collation after supper! The historian adds, that the monks had provided a sufficient quantity of wine, but that the bishop's attendants, as fond of it as their master, had improvidently consumed it all.

waylaid these two bishops, and made them prisoners; and only released them on condition of their promising to return home again. Having afterwards gone to York, to assist at the marriage of Alexander to the daughter of Henry III. of England, Bernham was taken ill, and died there, and was buried in the abbey church of Kelso. Winton relates that Bernham, with "a gret cumpany of erls, byshops, and baronis, and mony famous gret persouns," assisted at the translation of St Margaret's remains, (in consequence of her having been canonized,) from the nave of the abbey church of Dunfermline into the choir, on which occasion the following extraordinary circumstance occurred. St Margaret lay beside her husband Malcolm III.; and, when they attempted to lift her body, they could by no possibility effect it. It then occurred to them to carry Malcolm's body *first* into the choir, after which they had no difficulty in removing the queen's! Winton thus concludes the story:

So, this mirakel to record
Notis gret reverens done till her lord,
As sche used in her lyf
When sche was hys spoused wyf.

XXV. ABEL. A.D. 1253-1254.

Through the influence of the king and the court, and the concurrence of the pope, this bishop was thrust upon the prior and canons against their

will, they having previously chosen Robert Scutiwillis, Dean of Dunkeld: "To be revenged upon them, (says Spotswood,) Abel behaved himself well insolently, calling them in question upon every light occasion, and censuring them with great rigour; whereupon he became extremely hated. They write of him that, in a vain-glorious humour, as he was one day walking in his church, he did, with a little chalk, draw this line upon the gate, HÆC MIHI SUNT TRIA, LEX, CANON, PHILOSOPHIA; bragging of his knowledge and skill in these professions; and that, going to church the next day, he found another line drawn beneath the former, which said, TE LEVENT ABSQUE TRIA, FRAUS, FAVOR, VANOSOPHIA. This did so gall him, as, taking bed, he died within a few days, having sate bishop ten months and two days only." He was buried before the high altar in the cathedral church.

XXVI. GAMELINE. A.D. 1254-1271.

This bishop bore an excellent character, but became disagreeable to the court of Alexander III. because of his oppositions to their vices and unreasonable demands. The king, it appears, urged by some unprincipled and envious courtiers, gave them leave to molest and plunder certain churchmen. This the bishop used means to prevent; and began by excommunicating those who

were principally concerned, and among the rest, one Sir John Dinmure. The king immediately commanded the bishop either to go into banishment, or to withdraw his excommunications: he was also very angry with the prior of St Andrews, whom he accused of leaguings with the bishop against himself. Gameline was inflexible; and preferring exile to tyranny, left Scotland and sailed to France. But Alexander, listening, in the meantime, to wiser counsellors, and reproved by them for having harassed the church of Christ, which it was his duty to protect, ordered the sentence of banishment to be recalled, and sought pardon for what he had done; which he obtained, on due satisfaction being made to the sufferers.* According to another account, Gameline went from France to Italy, and laid his complaint before the pope, who decided in his favour: whereupon Sir John Dinmure relented, acknowledged his error, and was absolved; which paved the way for the reconciliation of the king and all concerned. The bishop returned to Scotland, and died of paralysis at his palace of Inchmurtach, and was buried in the cathedral on the north side of the high altar.

XXVII. WILLIAM WISHART. A.D. 1272-1279.

This bishop owed his appointment to the favour

* Boethius, lib. xiii. p. 289.

of Edward I. of England, and his interest with the pope. He was consecrated at Scone in 1273, in the presence of the king, seven bishops, and many of the nobility ; on which occasion he resigned the office of chancellor, which till then he had enjoyed. Fordun accuses him of having accumulated in his own hands, through avarice or ambition, several secular offices, besides various church benefices. By command of the pope, he attended a general council at Lyons, at which were present two patriarchs, fifteen cardinals, five hundred bishops, and a thousand other mitred prelates, besides the King of France, the Emperor of Greece, and many other princes. Wishart died at Marbottle in Teviotdale, and was buried in his own cathedral church near the high altar. " He rebuilt (says Keith) in a stately manner the east end of the cathedral, which had been blown down by a tempest of wind." Winton describes certain other additions which he made to the cathedral, but his description is far from being intelligible. See Vol. I. p. 391.

Wishart also founded and endowed the monastery of Dominican or Black Friars, in South Street, St Andrews, the north transept of whose gothic chapel is still standing in front of the Madras College.*

* The Dominican Friars were called " Friars Predicant." I have the cast of a seal belonging to the above monastery,

XXVIII. WILLIAM FRASER. A.D. 1279-1297.

Fraser had been previously Lord Chancellor and Dean of Glasgow ; and having been elected to the see of St Andrews, went to Rome, and was confirmed by Pope Nicholas III. Winton, in his Chronicle, relates that in the year 1284 Alexander III. came to St Andrews, and that, going up to the high altar of the cathedral church, he solemnly, and in the presence of many witnesses, “grawntyd til God and Saynct Andrewe the stryken of moné;” that is, he conferred on the Bishop of St Andrews, and his successors, the privilege of coining money ; reserving to himself, however, the right of inspecting the purity of the metal. Vol. I. p. 396.*

“ Upon the deplorable death of this king and his family, (says Keith,) Bishop Fraser was chosen one of the regents of the kingdom ; and as most of this nation did, yielded a forced submission to Edward I. of England. King John Baliol sent this bishop, together with three others of distinction, into France, to treat about a marriage

which has the following inscription—S. COMUN. SOCI. FRM. PREDICATORUM CIVITIS SANCTI ANDREE.

* In Cardonnell's “ Numismata Scotiæ,” I observe a copy of a silver coin which was struck at St Andrews in the following reign. The inscription on one side is, JOHANNES DEI GRACIA, and on the reverse, CIVITAS S. ANDRE.

for his son Prince Edward; but whether he ever returned home again is uncertain; since it is related, that having retired into France, that he might not be an eye-witness of the calamities of his country, he fell into a languishing distemper, and died at Carteville in 1297. His body was interred in the church of the Friars Predicant in Paris; but his heart, enclosed in a very rich box, was afterwards brought into Scotland by his immediate successor, Bishop Lamberton, and entombed in the wall of the cathedral church of St Andrews, near to the tomb of Bishop Gameline. He is said to have been a person of great worth, and would have performed many good works had he happened to live in peaceable times.”*

XXIX. WILLIAM LAMBERTON. A.D. 1298-1328.

The Culdees had till this time (see chap. iii.) claimed and exercised the right of electing the bishops of St Andrews, though latterly not without some obstructions. On the present occasion, being desirous to set aside the election of Lamberton, and to revive their ancient privilege, they determined to appeal to the pope, and dispatched their abbot, William Cumming, to Rome, to advocate

* The inscription on Fraser's seal, of which I have an impression, is, S. WILLI. FRASER DEI GRACIA SCOTORUM EPI.

their cause before his holiness. The pope listened patiently to their arguments; but, not unwilling to take this opportunity of abridging a power which interfered with his own, gave a decision against them, on the somewhat frivolous plea that they had suffered their rights to be invaded on former occasions without appealing to him. This decision seems to have been fatal to their existence as an independent body, as, after that period, scarcely any mention is made of them in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland.

Lamberton had been parson of Campsie, and chancellor of the diocese of Glasgow, before he was consecrated Bishop of St Andrews. He lived in trying and turbulent times, and is accused of having vacillated between the contending parties of Bruce and Baliol, with less regard to the promises which he made alternately to each, than to what seemed best adapted to serve his own end, or the interests of his church. In 1298 he, Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick, and John Comyn the younger, were chosen guardians of Scotland in the name of Baliol. When Edward I., in the course of his victorious career through the South of Scotland, held a parliament in St Andrews in 1303, Bishop Lamberton, like the rest of the Scottish clergy and nobility, was forced to yield submission.*

* When Edward was at St Andrews on this occasion, he stripped the lead (Boethius says *copper*) off the refectory

But he, notwithstanding, soon after entered into a secret treaty with Bruce, by which they mutually pledged themselves to assist each other against the enemy of their country.* This treaty secured to Bruce the co-operation of the Church of Scotland, which enabled him to set at defiance the sentence of excommunication which the pope, at the instance of Edward, had issued against him. In 1306 Lamberton crowned Bruce King of Scotland, in the sacred chair at Scone, with the concurrence and assistance of Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow. And here an incident occurred, which, from its connexion with Fife and the Bishop of St Andrews, deserves to be mentioned. On the day after the coronation, the Countess of Buchan, sister of the Earl of Fife, unexpectedly made her appearance at Scone, and claimed, in right of her brother, who was then absent in England, the hereditary privilege of placing the king in the inaugural chair of Scotland. This request it was thought expedient to comply with, and Bruce was accordingly installed a second time by the hands of the countess. But this spirited lady suffered severely for her patriotism, when, after Bruce's defeat at Methven, she fell into the hands

of the priory, to convert into battering machines (*ad machinas construendas*) for the siege of Stirling. Fordun, lib. xii. cap. iii.

* See a copy of this treaty in Dalrymple's Annals, A.D. 1304.

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of Edward. The ungallant monarch caused a cage to be constructed on the summit of one of the turrets of Berwick Castle, where she was strictly confined for four years. The Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow also suffered for their patriotism. They had not only assisted at the coronation of Bruce, but supported him with their wealth, their armed vassals, and their ecclesiastical influence.

Lamberton, among other acts in his favour, had sent Sir James Douglas, with horses and money, to join his standard. This young knight, afterwards so justly celebrated, was the son of the "Good" Sir William Douglas, the companion in arms of Wallace; and when other friends failed him, had found a generous protector in the Bishop of St Andrews, who entertained him in his own palace. At first, Lamberton tried to interest Edward in the knight's favour, and to get back his father's lands which had been forfeited; and, with this view, he introduced him to that monarch at Stirling: but, as soon as Edward learnt who he was, he reproached the bishop with his presumption in making such a request, adding, "The father was always my enemy, and I have already bestowed his lands upon more loyal followers than his son will ever prove." When, therefore, this vindictive prince heard that young Douglas had gone over to Bruce, with the concurrence and aid

of the bishop, he commanded the latter to be seized and imprisoned in Winchester Castle ;* and, at the same time, he ordered the Bishop of Glasgow into confinement in Nottingham Castle ; and, not satisfied with depriving them of their personal liberty, he wrote to the pope for permission to declare their sees vacant, and to fill them with creatures of his own ; to which, however, his holiness, who thought he had already gone too far, would not consent. On the death of Edward I. in 1307, Lamberton was released from captivity, and allowed to return to St Andrews, on engaging to be faithful to the interests of Edward II., an engagement, however, which he does not seem to have very scrupulously fulfilled. After the victory at Bannockburn in 1314 had restored peace to Scotland, the bishop devoted himself to promote the prosperity of the church of which he was the head. He purchased from the abbot and monks of Reading in Berkshire the priory of the Island of May, and bestowed it upon the canons of his own cathedral, though this act is ascribed by

* The following account of Bishop Lamberton's daily expenses, when a prisoner in Winchester Castle, is copied from Rymer's *Fœdera Angliæ*, Vol. I. A.D. 1306.

For the bishop's daily expense, . . .	vi. pence.
One man-servant to attend, . . .	iii. „
One boy to attend likewise, . . .	i. $\frac{1}{2}$. „
A chaplain daily, . . .	i. $\frac{1}{2}$. „

i. shilling.

Fordun to a former Bishop of St Andrews. He repaired his palace in St Andrews, (the castle,) made several additions to the priory, and built places of residence for himself and his successors in various parts of his diocese. He likewise erected ten churches in the diocese, and performed many good works.* At last, he applied himself to finish the cathedral, which he effected; and, on the 5th July, in the year 1318, had it dedicated with great solemnity in the presence of King Robert Bruce, seven bishops, fifteen abbots, and most of the knights and barons of the kingdom, all of whom presented gifts and offerings on the occasion, (Winton, Vol. II. p. 131.) Bruce himself gave one hundred merks sterling out of his private revenues, in gratitude, it is said, "for the illustrious victory which St Andrew, the patron saint of his kingdom, had recently afforded him at Bannockburn."

Lamberton died in 1328, and was buried at the north side of the great altar, in his own church.†

• "He adorned the chapter-house with curious seats and ceiling, and furnisht the chanons with instruments for their service, and their librarie with books." MARTINE.

† Winton, who wrote only fifty years after Lamberton's death, thus describes the relative position of the tombs of Bishops Gameline, Lamberton, and Walter Trail, the last of whom had been a contemporary of Winton's. Speaking of Lamberton, he says,

And in the north half of the new kyrke-
Cathedrale, an arch he gart work,

Thus the cathedral was going on under eleven successive bishops, namely, from the time of Arnald, down to that of Lamberton; and thereby occupied in building, a period of a hundred and sixty years; “and considering (says Martine) the time it was demolisht, (June 1559,) it stood entire 240 years, and, from the foundation to the razing thereof, (occasioned by a sermon of John Knox against Idolatrie, preached to a giddy lawless multitude,) was just 400 years.” Martine also says that not only were collections made for this work through most parts of Europe, but that many of the canons were artificers, and wrought at the work with their own hands. This, indeed, was a very general practice with the monks in the middle ages. I shall have occasion to notice afterwards (chap. xv.) the monumental inscription on one of the canons of St Andrews, who is styled *Magister Fabricæ*.

Now seen between tombis twa;
 Of Gameline the eastmost is of tha.
 And, in a space that was levyd (raised)
 Between the pulpit and his heyd, (head)
 An arch of fair work, and of fyne,
 The bishop Walter gart make syne.
 Under that tomb now lyis he.
 Thus lying are these bishops three,
 On the north half of the high kyrke,
 In tombis that they themselves gart work.

Vol. II. p. 135.

I need scarcely add, that all traces of these monuments have long since disappeared.

XXX. JAMES BANE OF BUIRT. A.D. 1328-1332.

“ The chapter, after Lamberton’s death, meeting for the election of a new bishop, went into factions, the one half voting for Sir James Bane, Archdeacon of St Andrews, the other half for Sir Alexander Kinninmonth, Archdeacon of Lothian. But Bane, being then in the court of Rome, and advertised of the bishop’s death, obtained the bishoprick of the pope, who, in those times, disposed all church livings as he thought good, having no regard to canonical election.”* This bishop crowned King David II. at Scone in 1331, on which occasion, by command of the pope, the ceremony of *anointing* was first used in crowning the Kings of Scotland. When Edward Baliol and his party got the ascendancy, Bane was forced to take refuge in Flanders, where he died, and was buried in the monastery of the regular canons at Bruges, with this inscription—HIC JACET BONÆ MEMORIÆ JACOBUS DOMINUS DE BIURT EPISCOPUS SANCTI ANDRÆE IN SCOTIA NOSTRÆ RELIGIONIS QUI OBIT XXII. DIE SEPT. ANN. DOM. M.CCC.XXXIII. ORATE PRO EO. After his death the see remained vacant nine years, in consequence of the pope’s refusing to confirm the English ecclesiastic whom Edward III. had nominated to fill it.

* Spotswood, lib. ii. p. 55.

XXXI. WILLIAM DE LANDEL OF LAUNDELYS.
A.D. 1341-1385.

At the end of the above vacancy, the canons of St Andrews chose for their bishop (says Winton, Vol. I. p. 158)

Mastyre Williame Bell, then
That was Dene of Dunkelden.

But his election was set aside in consequence of his having lost his eye sight, and Landel was appointed by Pope Benedict XII. on the strong recommendation of the Kings of Scotland and France. Fordun says of him that "he was generous, mild, ingenuous, and modest, and that he loved his canons as much as if they had been his own children." He was taken prisoner with David II. at the battle of Durham in 1346, and ransomed for the sum of 100,000 merks sterling. Pope Innocent VI. gave him authority to collect the tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices in Scotland for three years, to enable him to pay this enormous sum, which would amount to about a *million sterling* of our money! It is a curious fact, that a like sum could not be raised for the ransom of the king, in consequence of which he remained eleven years in captivity, and was even then only released on giving securities and hostages that it would be paid within ten years more, Bishop

Landel being one of the commissioners appointed by his nation to make this treaty with the English!* In 1363, David held a parliament in Landel's palace of Inchmurtach, near St Andrews. The bishop's last public act was the crowning of King Robert II. in 1371. Winton, who was his contemporary, and one of the canons of his church, thus mentions his death :

William Laundelys, that good man,
Of Saynct Andrews byschop than,
Closed hys lyf the last day
In the east chawmber of that Abbey,
When in his sickness he had tane
His sacramentis all ilkane.

According to Fordun, he died on St Thecla's day, and was "buried before the vestibule of the great church, under an artificial stone curiously wrought."

About this time the inhabitants of Cupar obtained a charter of commercial privileges from David II. This they supposed should have excluded the burgesses of St Andrews from the right of trading in Cupar, which they had always hitherto exercised, in virtue of their own more ancient charter; but to this restriction the bishop and burgesses of St Andrews refused to submit. A long litigation in consequence ensued between

* See the note in Macpherson's edition of Winton, (Vol. II. p. 512.) Dalrymple, A.D. 1354, 1356, 1357.

the two burghs, which was ultimately decided, by the parliament which met at Perth in 1369, in favour of St Andrews, whereby this city was empowered to buy and sell wool, hides, and other articles of traffic, as formerly, within the limits of Cupar.

During the episcopate of Landel, the priors of the monastery were William de London and Stephen de Pay. "The former (says Fordun) covered the whole dormitory with a magnificent roof; beneath, with polished planks, and above, with lead. He also roofed the old church of St Regulus, the eastern chamber, the four sides of the cloister, and the south part of the refectory. He caused to be made, at the expense of the monastery, the curtain (*velum*) which was suspended during Lent between the altar and the choir, composed of curious work, and admirably embroidered with various figures of men and animals."

During the time of the other prior, Stephen de Pay, (namely, in 1368,) a great part of the cathedral was unfortunately burnt by some accident. Boethius says it was occasioned either by lightning, or by a jackdaw carrying a burning twig into its nest. Stephen, therefore, together with the bishop, immediately set about repairing the same with "stone, wood, and lead work, and rebuilt two columns on the east side of the church,

close to the altars of St Michael and St Lawrence." They renewed (says Winton, Vol. II. p. 328) all the wood work in the choir and transepts, and covered them with lead. In the nave they reconstructed the nine pillars nearest to the west door, with the help of several noblemen, whose arms were in consequence carved upon them. On these works they expended 2200 merks, which would be equal to about L.20,000 of our money.

XXXII. STEPHEN DE PAY. A.D. 1385.

He had been twenty-one years prior of St Andrews, and was a man of great wisdom and experience. On his voyage to Rome, whither he was going for confirmation, he was taken prisoner by the English and carried to Alnwick, where he immediately after fell sick and died.

XXXIII. WALTER TRAIL. A.D. 1385-1401.

Before his appointment, Trail had been a canon of St Andrews, and had studied with great repute in foreign parts, and commenced Doctor both of civil and canon law. He happened to be with the pope (Clement VII.) at Avignon at the time this see became vacant, by whose authority alone, without election, he was preferred to the same. So great an esteem had this pope for him, that he said, on appointing him to the bishoprick, that

“ he was more worthy to be pope than merely a bishop, and that the place was better provided than the person.” In 1390 he and the Bishop of Glasgow assisted at the funeral of Robert II. at Scone; and on the following day, Trail placed the crown on the head of Robert III. as thus described by Winton: .

And on the morn syne afterwart,
Crowned was the thryd Robert,
The second Robert's ayre and son,
Into that ilk kyrk of Scone.
The byschop of Saynct Andrewis see
Waltyr wyth gret solemnity,
Gave our kyng then the crown.
His swerd, his sceptre, and unctioun.
(Vol. II. p. 361.)

In 1391, Trail was sent ambassador to France, where he remained a year. He died in the castle of St Andrews, which he had repaired or rebuilt, and was buried in the cathedral, with this inscription:—

HIC FUIT ECCLESIE DIRECTA CALUMNA, FUNESTRA
LUCIDA, THURIBULUM REDOLENS, CAMPANA SONORA.

Keith remarks, that “ he was of such excellent worth, that even Buchanan speaks in his praise.” Winton enumerates the following donations which this bishop bestowed upon his church: “ Twa lang coddies (cushions) of velvet, to be laid on the high altar; various dresses and ornaments for the priests, particularly a tunkil, (tunic,) dalmatyk,

albis with parurys, stole, fannowne and chysabil, three gold bawdekynnys, (bodkins?) and a silver basin, and three silver ewers ;” he adds, (evidently thinking this as not so much as he should have given,)

Wyth-outen doute he had done mare,
Had God hym tholed til lyve langare.

In the time of this bishop, Robert of Montrose, (de Monte rosarum,) a canon of the church, and prior of Loch Leven, was elected to the priorate of St Andrews. The following account from Fordun of this man’s excellent character and tragical death may be thought interesting. He was a man of great knowledge and eloquence, and a distinguished preacher ; an upholder of the ancient discipline, a pattern to the flock in the monastery, and a good shepherd to the people ; for he did not despise the people, but instructed them, and rendered to every one his due. He did not flatter the great, nor fear their threats ; he did not oppress the poor, but protected them. The errors of those subject to him he did not overlook, but corrected ; in all things shewing himself respectful to his seniors, mild to his juniors, gentle to his religious brethren, unyielding to the proud and obstinate, condescending to the humble, and tender-hearted to the penitent. This being the case, he could truly adopt the language of the founder of his order,

St Augustine, who, in one of his epistles, thus speaks : “ I dare not say that my house is better than the ark of Noah, where one wicked man was found ; nor better than Abraham’s house, where it is said, ‘ cast out the bond-woman and her son ;’ nor better than Isaac’s house, concerning whose two sons it is said, ‘ Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated :’ So I confess, that from the time I began to serve God, I have found, that as the best of men are to be met with in monasteries, so they not unfrequently contain the worst.” It happened that Robert of Montrose had in his monastery a monk named Thomas Plater, an undisciplined and turbulent man, whom he had often tried, both by threats and promises, but in vain, to bring to a sense of his errors. He considered, nevertheless, that he who connives at another’s fault is guilty of it ; and that impunity is the mother of insolence, the root of petulance, and the nurse of error. While he was revolving in his mind how he should gain his brother, the latter, instigated by the devil, was plotting his superior’s destruction. One evening, (in 1393,) when the prior was alone, and was going up as usual from the cloister to the dormitory for the night, Plater, watching his opportunity, attacked him, and drawing a dagger from under his cloak, mortally wounded him. He survived only three days ; and bidding his brethren farewell, slept in the Lord, and was buried in the

new chapter-house. The parricide was apprehended as he was trying to make his escape. Two days after the prior's funeral, he was brought forth, clad in a long robe ; and after a solemn discourse from Walter Trail the bishop, addressed to the clergy and people, he was thrust bound into perpetual imprisonment. There, partaking scantily of the bread of grief and the water of affliction, he soon died, and was buried in a dunghill.

XXXIV. THOMAS STEWART. A. D. 1401
1404.

This was a son of King Robert II., and Archdeacon of St Andrews ; but he was no more than bishop elect, for his extreme modesty would never suffer him to be consecrated, and the chapter would not elect any other during his life. Fordun calls him *modestissimi spiritus vir et columbinæ simplicitatis*. Before the close of his episcopate, he consented, at the instance of the king, and with the consent of the canons of the church, (reluctantly granted, however,) to give up the revenues of the see in favour of Walter of Danyelstoun, in return for his ceding Dumbarton Castle, a fortress which the king was anxious to obtain, and which the said Walter would not give up on any other terms. This man only lived, however, half a year to enjoy his wealth thus sacrilegiously obtained, and died before Bishop Stewart.

James Bisset was prior of the monastery at this time. He completed (according to Fordun) the roofing of the nave of the cathedral, fitted up the choir with stalls, and finished the repairs of the quadrangle of the cloister. He furnished the whole monastery with new granaries, mills, calefactories, (ustrinas,) pigeries, barns, and stables; and provided the two apartments of the guest-hall with pillars and glass windows. He paved the exterior and interior court of the monastery; and supplied its church, as well as all the churches dependent upon it, with vestries, robes for the priests, and other useful ornaments.

XXXV. HENRY WARDLAW. A.D. 1404-1440.

On the death of Stewart, the canons chose for his successor Gilbert of Greenlaw, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Chancellor of Scotland; and sent one of their number to Rome to get the pope's consent to the election. This, however, for reasons that do not appear, his Holiness refused, and bestowed the vacant see on Henry Wardlaw, Precentor of Glasgow, Doctor of Canon Law, and a nephew of the cardinal of that name. This prelate has the honour of having laid the foundation of the University of St Andrews, which is the oldest in Scotland, though, for many years, it was distinguished by no higher title than the Pedagogium. It stood chiefly on the present site of

St Mary's College, but had rooms belonging to it in different parts of the city. The university was established in the year 1411, and the next year Wardlaw obtained from the pope (Benedict XIII.) a confirmation of its charter. The following is Tytler's eloquent account of the institution of this ancient seat of learning, (Vol. III. p. 180.) " But it is necessary here to interrupt the narrative for a moment, in order to fix our attention upon a spectacle which, amid the gloomy pictures of foreign or domestic wars, offers a refreshing and pleasing resting-place to the mind. This was the establishment of the University of St Andrews, by Henry Wardlaw the bishop of that see, to whom belongs the unfading honour of being the founder of the first university in Scotland, the father of the infant literature of his country. Before this time, the generosity of the Lady Devorguil, the wife of John Baliol, had established Baliol College in Oxford, in the end of the thirteenth century ; and we have seen the munificence of a Scottish prelate, the Bishop of Moray, distinguishing itself by the institution of the Scots College in Paris, in 1326. But it was reserved for the enlightened spirit of Wardlaw to render unnecessary the distant emigration of our Scottish youth to these and other foreign seminaries, by opening the wells of learning and education at home ; and in addition to the various

schools which were connected with the monasteries, by conferring upon his country the distinction of a university, protected by papal sanction, and devoted to the cultivation of what was then esteemed the higher branches of science and philosophy.—On the 3d of February 1413, Henry Ogilvy, Master of Arts, made his entry into the city, bearing the papal bulls which endowed the infant seminary with the high and important privileges of a university: and his arrival was welcomed by the ringing of bells from the steeples, and the tumultuous joy of all classes of the inhabitants. On the following day, being Sunday, a solemn convocation of the clergy was held in the refectory; and the papal bulls having been read in the presence of the bishop, the chancellor of the university, they proceeded in procession to the high altar, where *Te Deum* was sung by the whole assembly; the bishops, priors, and other dignitaries, being arrayed in their richest canonicals, whilst four hundred clerks, besides novices and lay brothers, and an immense number of spectators, bent down before the high altar in gratitude and adoration. High mass was then celebrated; and when the service was concluded, the remainder of the day was devoted to mirth and festivity. In the evening, bonfires in the streets, peels of bells and musical instruments, processions of the clergy, and joyful assemblies of the people

indulging in the song, the dance, and the wine cup, succeeded to the graver ceremonies of the morning; and the event was welcomed by a boisterous enthusiasm, more befitting the brilliant triumphs of war, than the quiet and noiseless conquests of science and philosophy." Bishop Wardlaw directed that all future Bishops of St Andrews should be chancellors of the university *ex officio*. When James I. was fourteen years of age, he was placed by his father under the care and tuition of Wardlaw, with whom he remained till he embarked for France, or rather, as the event proved, for England. In that country, it is well known, he was long detained a prisoner, but, on his return home, in 1424, he had the satisfaction to be crowned at Scone by his venerable preceptor, the Bishop of St Andrews. In England, James had received an excellent education, and acquired a taste for poetry and literature, in consequence of which, he was greatly delighted with his new university, spent much of his time in it, and bestowed various privileges upon its members. He made a law that no one should enjoy any cathedral preferment until he had taken a degree either in divinity or canon law at St Andrews.

We must not omit to mention that Wardlaw built the Gare bridge at the mouth of the river Eden, near St Andrews, which, at one time, was reckoned the finest in Scotland, except those of

Aberdeen and Glasgow.* “His memorie,” however, says Martine, “is sullied by the death of John Resby and Paul Carew, who were condemned and burnt for some opinions derogatory to the popacie; yet he was an excellent man, and repressed many disorders which had crept in among the clergie, and was extremely addicted to hospitalitie.” This Resby was the first person who suffered death in Scotland on the allegation of heresy. Carew was a Bohemian, and a follower of Luss and Wicliff. A brass ball was put into his mouth at the time of his being burnt, to prevent his addressing the people. We must remember that in those days, whoever put a heretic to death believed he was doing God service. This belief lasted till long after the time of Wardlaw, and even tarnished the piety of many Protestants.

Boethius (lib. xvii. p. 349) records an admir-

- There is a family of the name of Wan who still have a few acres of land near this bridge, and which were granted to their ancestors by the Bishops of St Andrews, on condition of their performing the twofold office of keeping the bridge, and acting as *doomster* to the bishop's court of regality. In former times, a chain was stretched across the bridge, which it was the duty of the keeper to remove, in order to allow the horses or carriages of the gentry to pass over; the carts of the commonalty being obliged to ford the stream at low tide. In his judicial capacity, the doomster was required, by his charter, to yield all due obedience to the seneschal of the bishop, and both to pronounce and execute the doom or sentence of his court.

able speech which this bishop made in parliament, and which he addressed to the king, against intemperance and luxury, which were then beginning to gain ground in Scotland.

Wardlaw died in the Castle of St Andrews, and was buried in the cathedral church, "in the wall betwixt the choir and our Lady's chapel."

James Haldenstoun was prior of St Andrews during this episcopate. According to Fordun, (almost our only authority in regard to the sacred edifices of the place, but whose monkish Latin is far from being always intelligible,) this prior altered the east gable of the cathedral, by substituting the present large window for three smaller ones, the traces of which may still be perceived. "He adorned the interior, as well with carved stalls, as with the images of the saints. The nave, which before was bare and solitary, he beautified with glass windows and polished pavement, as also by supplying altars, images, and ornaments. He furnished the vestry with fresh relics, repaired the former ones, and erected presses for containing them. He also paved the floor of the chapter-house, and repaired the farm-houses belonging to the priory, viz. Ballony, Pilmor, Segie, and Kinmoth." Lastly, he procured for himself and his successors, through his influence with James I., the pastoral insignia of the mitre, the staff, and

the ring ; and precedence in parliament over all the other abbots and priors in the kingdom.

XXXVI. JAMES KENNEDY. A.D. 1440-1466.

This distinguished prelate had been Bishop of Dunkeld before his translation to the metropolitan chair. He was the *last Bishop* of St Andrews, as his successor was made the *first Archbishop*. Tytler, after mentioning his death, thus describes his character: " In him the country lost the only statesman who possessed sufficient firmness, ability, and integrity, to direct the counsels of government. He was, indeed, in many respects, a remarkable man ; a pious and conscientious churchman, whose charity was munificent, active, and discriminating, and whose religion was as little tinged with bigotry and superstition as the times in which he lived would allow. His zeal for the true interests of literature and science was another prominent and admirable feature in his character, of which he left a noble monument in St Salvator's College at St Andrews, which was founded by him in 1456, and richly endowed out of his ecclesiastical revenues. Kennedy was nearly connected with the royal family, his mother being the Lady Mary, Countess of Angus, a daughter of Robert III.* It appears that he had early de-

* This remarkable lady, who gave birth to the last Bishop and the first Archbishop of St Andrews, was mar-

voted his attention to a correction of the manifold abuses which were daily increasing in the church ; for which laudable purpose he twice visited Italy,* and, notwithstanding his zeal in reformation, experienced the favour of the pope. Although, in his public works, in his endowments of churches, and in every thing connected with the pomp and ceremonial of the Catholic faith, he was unusually magnificent, yet, in his own person, and the expenditure of his private household, he exhibited a rare union of purity, decorum, and frugality : nor could the sternest judges breathe a single aspersion against either his integrity as a minister of state, or his private character as a minister of religion. Buchanan, whose prepossessions were strongly against that ancient church of which Kennedy was the head in Scotland, has yet spoken

ried four times : *first*, to the Earl of Angus, by whom she had two sons, William and George Douglas, who successively became Earls of Angus ; *second*, to Sir James Kennedy of Dunnure, by whom she had two sons, James, the celebrated bishop, and Gilbert, afterwards created Lord Kennedy, the ancestor of the present Marquis of Ailsa ; *third*, to Lord Graham of Dundresmore, by whom she had two sons, James Graham, the first Laird of Fintray, and Patrick Graham, the first Archbishop of St Andrews ; and, *fourth*, to Sir William Edmiston of Culoden.

* On the second of these journeys he received a written safe conduct from Henry VI. of England for himself, and thirty persons in his retinue, to pass through that country. See a copy of this document in Crawford's Lives, Vol. I. p. 32.

of his virtues in the highest terms of panegyric : “ His death,” he says, “ was so deeply deplored by all good men, that the country seemed to weep for him as for a public parent.”* Bishop Kennedy endowed St Salvator’s College with the teinds of the parishes of Cults, Kemback, Dunino, Fortiviot, and Kilmany, and some chapelries, all of which had till then belonged to the bishoprick. In the chapel of this college there is a monument to his memory, which, though greatly mutilated, is still beautiful.

The hostility subsisting between Kennedy and the Douglasses, and the assistance he gave to James II. in suppressing that powerful family, is matter of history, (see chap. xvi.) To be revenged on the bishop for his opposition to their rebellious design, they instigated a large body of their adherents, among whom was the Earl of Crawford, to invade his lands in Fife ; who accordingly made captives of his tenants, burned their houses, and laid waste the produce of their fields. On learning this, the bishop, deeply indignant at so wanton an outrage, repaired to his cathedral, and solemnly excommunicated those ferocious plunderers ; denouncing the extreme curses of the church against all who should presume to harbour or support them. The fate of Douglas, who soon

• Tytler, Vol. IV. p. 205.

after fell by the hand of James himself, and the slaughter of the Earl of Crawford, when attempting to suppress a feud among his followers, were regarded as marks of the divine vengeance, and as the fulfilment of the bishop's denunciation against their persons.

After the premature death of James II. in 1460, Kennedy was made one of the lords of the regency, and guardian to James III., then only seven years of age. He held these appointments till his death, and in both of them he conducted himself with such consummate prudence as to obtain the approbation of the whole kingdom, and in particular that of the young prince himself, who always styled him *carissimus avunculus noster*.

Kennedy founded and endowed the monastery of Franciscan or Grey-Friars, near the market gate of the Market Street, St Andrews; and it was finished by his successor, Archbishop Graham, in 1478. It was destroyed by the reformers in 1559, and the only trace of it now remaining is the name "Grey-Friars Garden," which is still given to the spot where it stood.*

* Sir R. Sibbald and Bishop Keith have confounded the sites of the Dominican and Franciscan monasteries, placing the former in Market Street, and the latter in South Street; whereas the town charters prove them to have been the reverse. The ground of the Franciscan monastery was granted to the town by Queen Mary after the Reformation; and is now the site of a new street called

The bishop also built a magnificent vessel or "barge," called the St Salvator, for the purposes of commerce, which Martine calls "a vast ship of great burden." This vessel was employed in trading with foreign countries, and continued after Kennedy's death to be the property of the see, till the year 1472, when she was wrecked near Bamburgh, on her voyage from Flanders, and plundered by the English of a valuable cargo. This trifling circumstance produced a quarrel between the two countries. "Restitution (says Buchanan, Vol. II. p. 73) was often sought for, but in vain. This bred a disgust betwixt the nations for some years. At last, the English sent ambassadors into Scotland, the chiefs of whom were the Bishop of Durham, and Scroop, a nobleman. By these ambassadors, King Edward (IV.) who had been tossed by the inconstancy of fortune, desired a treaty of peace; which was easily renewed, upon condition that a due estimation might be made of the *ship that was rifled*, and just satisfaction made." The bishop's barge, his own monument, his college, and his monastery, cost no less a sum than L.300,000 of our present money.

Bell Street, in honour of Dr Bell, the founder of the Madras College.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF ST ANDREWS, FROM THE ACCESSION OF GRAHAM, THE FIRST ARCHBISHOP, IN 1466, TO THE REFORMATION.—ARCHBISHOPS GRAHAM—SHEVEZ—J. STEWART—A. STEWART—FORMAN—J. BEATON—D. BEATON—HAMILTON.

XXXVII. PATRICK GRAHAM. A.D. 1466-1478.

THIS first Archbishop of St Andrews, notwithstanding his excellent character and high rank, (see note, p. 72,) fell into numerous misfortunes. He had previously been Bishop of Brechin. When he was translated to St Andrews, and had gone to Rome for confirmation, the old controversy was revived, during his stay there, concerning the superiority of the see of York over the church of Scotland; whereupon he not only succeeded in obtaining sentence against that see, but, to prevent any similar claim from being afterwards renewed, the pope erected St Andrews into an archbishop-

rick, and subjected the other eleven Scottish dioceses to its jurisdiction ; and moreover, appointed the new primate to be his legate in Scotland for three years. “ This good man, (says Keith,) on his return home, found the king, the clergie, and the courtiers, all in opposition to him ; the king being displeased for his accepting the legation, without his privitie and allowance, and the clergy fearing, lest, by his new power, he would rectify the disorders that were befallen the church through the disposing of livings by sale,” &c. It would appear, however, from some accounts, that Graham was not made archbishop till the year 1472 ; and this derives confirmation from the fact, that on a seal of his, attached to a charter now in St Salvator’s College, dated 1469, the inscription is simply, S. PATRICII DEI GRACIA EPISCOPI SANCTI ANDREE. After he had become reconciled to the king, and had retired to his house at Monimail, he was unable to live in peace. The Roman bankers sued him for the heavy fees due for the papal bulls which had erected his see into an archbishoprick ; and not being able at that time to pay them, he was arrested and imprisoned, and his rents uplifted for the discharge of his debts. In addition to these misfortunes, Shevez, Arch-deacon of St Andrews, (and who afterwards succeeded him,) forged accusations against him, the pope’s legate was bribed by his enemies to take

part with them, and even the king (James III.) is accused of having been induced, by a large pecuniary grant, to confirm the sentence which they pronounced against him. In short, matters were carried to such a height against the unhappy primate, that, after being imprisoned successively in his own Castle of St Andrews, in Inchcolm, and Dunfermline, he ended his days (it is said in a state of insanity) in Loch Leven Castle, after an empty title of thirteen years, and was buried in the chapel of St Servanus' Isle. "This end (says Spotswood) had that worthy man, in virtue and learning inferior to none of his time, oppressed by the malice and calumny of his enemies, chiefly that they feared the reformation of their wicked abuses by his means.*"

XXXVIII. WILLIAM SHEVEZ. A.D. 1478-1496.

Spotswood severely blames Shevez for having been one of his predecessor's keenest enemies; but as to his own administration, he merely says that "he was publicly invested with the pall in the church of Halirudhouse in the year 1478, the king and divers of the nobility being then present. How he governed the see I find not; but his entry being such as we have seen, did not promise

* See Buchanan's History, Vol. II. p. 72, where Graham's sufferings from the malice of his enemies are feelingly described.

much good." It is said that he was addicted to the study of astrology.* At this time, corruptions and abuses of all kinds were fast increasing in the church. "Ignorance and impiety (says Spotswood) everywhere prevailed, till, in the end, the laity, putting their hands to the work, made that *violent and disordered reformation*, whereof in the next book we shall hear." During this primacy, Glasgow was erected into an archbishoprick by Pope Alexander III., which excited the warm opposition of the primate, whose power and patronage were thereby diminished. So far did he carry his opposition, that he gave the Earl of Argyle a valuable estate belonging to his see, with a view to secure his powerful interest in his favour : but in vain. It was finally settled that the following eight dioceses should be under the jurisdiction of St Andrews, viz. Dunkeld, Dunblane, Brechin, Aberdeen, Moray, Ross, Caithness, and Orkney ; and that Galloway, Argyle, and the Isles should be subject to Glasgow—the Archbishop of St Andrews continuing to retain the primacy of all Scotland. Shevez died at St Andrews, and was buried before the high altar in the cathedral, "in a monument of brasse provided for him."

* "Shevez, educated at Louvaine in the fashionable study of astrology, soon became a favourite with the weak James III., who was addicted to divination and every superstition." Sibbald's Fife, p. 255.

XXXIX. JAMES STEWART. A.D. 1497-1503.

This primate was the second son of James III., by his royal consort Margaret, daughter of Christian III., King of Denmark; and was, singularly enough, christened James, though his elder brother was so named before him. He was created Duke of Ross and Marquis of Ormond. It was proposed at one time to marry him to a daughter of King Edward IV.; but, preferring to enter into holy orders, he succeeded, on the death of Shevez, to the primacy of Scotland, in the twenty-first year of his age. He made a journey to Rome, to receive confirmation from Pope Julius II.; and when he passed through England on his way thither, he obtained a very complimentary safe-conduct and flattering reception from his royal kinsman Henry VII. On his return from Rome, his brother James IV. made him commendator of Holyrood and Dunfermline. He died when only twenty-eight years old, and was buried in his cathedral church, among the bishops his predecessors.* He is celebrated by Ariosto in his *Orlando Furioso*, canto x. in these words:—

* I have a cast of the large and richly engraved seal of this prelate, the waxen impression of which is affixed to a deed among the town charters, dated 1499. The inscription which surrounds it is as follows: S. IA. ARCHIEPI. SCI. ANDR. TOTIUS SCOTIE PRIMAT. SE. AP. LEGATI DUCIS ROSSIE BTE. CRUC. COMEDATOR.; *i. e.* the seal of James,

Non è un sì bello in tante altre persone,
 Natura il fece, e poi ruppe la stampa.
 Non è in cui tal virtù tal grazia luca,
 O tal possanza, ed è Rosià Duca.

Which are thus translated by Hoole :—

No form so graceful can your eyes behold,
 For nature made him, and destroyed her mould.
 The title of the Duke of Ross he bears,
 No chief like him in dauntless mind compares.

XL. ALEXANDER STEWART. A.D. 1509-1513.

This talented and accomplished, but unfortunate young man, was the natural son of James IV. Owing to his extreme youth, the see was kept vacant for him for six years. He was educated abroad, and had for his tutor the celebrated Erasmus, who entertained (and in one of his published letters expresses) the highest opinion of his learning and piety.* When he came home, though

Archbishop of St Andrews, Primate of all Scotland, Legate of the Apostolic See, Duke of Ross, and Commendator of Holyrood.

* The following are Erasmus' words when describing his royal pupil :—" I was at one time domesticated with him in the town of Sens, (in urbe Senensi,) where I instructed him in Greek and Rhetoric. Good Heavens! how quick, how attentive, how persevering in his studies! how many things he accomplished! At one and the same time he learnt law—not a very agreeable study, on account of its barbarous admixtures, and the irksome verbosity of its interpreters :—he heard lectures on rhetoric, and de-claimed on a prescribed thesis, exercising alike his pen and

not more than 18 years of age, he was made not only Archbishop of St Andrews, but Pope's Legate, Lord Chancellor, Abbot of Dunfermline, and Prior of Coldingham. All this he enjoyed three years, till he lost his life, with the king his father, at the unfortunate battle of Flodden-Field, on the 9th September 1513. "He augmented the stipends of the professor of the pedagogie, (the name still given to Bishop Wardlaw's foundations,) which formerlie were but small, and gave to them the fruits of the church of St Michael of Tarvet, near Cowper. He rebuilt the chapel of St John the Evangelist in the pedagogie, but where it stood is now uncertain. His arms are

his tongue : he learnt Greek, and every day construed the part which had been assigned him, within a given time. In the afternoons he applied himself to music, to the virginals, the flute, or the lute, (*monochordis, tibiis, testudini,*) accompanying them sometimes with his voice. Even at meals he did not intermit his studies. The chaplain always read some useful book, such as the decrees of the popes, or St Jerome, or St Ambrose ; nor was the voice of the reader ever interrupted, except when some of the doctors, in the midst of whom he sat, made an observation, or when he himself asked the meaning of any thing he did not clearly understand. At other times, he would listen to tales, but short, and connected with literature. In this manner, no part of his life was exempt from study, except what he devoted to piety and sleep. And, if he had any spare time, he employed it in reading history, in which he took great delight. Thus it happened, that, though a very young man, scarcely out of his eighteenth year, he excelled not only in every kind of learning, but in every quality which one can admire in a man."

to be seen on the bibliotheke, on the north wall thereof.”*

During this episcopate, namely, in 1512, John Hepburn, Prior of St Andrews, founded the College of St Leonard's, and endowed it with the tithes of the parish of that name, and also with certain funds belonging to an hospital which was situated within the precincts of the monastery, and which had been erected in very ancient times for the reception of pilgrims who assembled from all parts to adore the relics of St Andrew. The attendance of these pilgrims, it would seem, had fallen off; and it was judged expedient to apply the revenues of the hospital to the endowment of a college for the study of theology. This college, being purely a monastic institution, the prior and conventual chapter were its patrons, and supplied it with teachers chosen from among themselves. It was originally designed for the education of twenty-four poor students;† but it soon acquired so much repute, that many of the sons of the nobility and gentry of Scotland repaired to it. The students, among other accomplishments, were carefully instructed in *sacred music*, and became so celebrated for their skill in that art, that many of them were

* Martine.

† The inscription on the original seal of the college runs thus: S. COME. COLLEGII PAUPERUM SANCTI LEONARDI.

employed throughout Scotland, after the Reformation, in teaching it.

XLI. ANDREW FORMAN. A.D. 1514-1522.

After the premature death of Archbishop Stewart, the queen offered the primacy to the celebrated Elphinston, Bishop of Aberdeen, who refused it on account of his great age and declining health. There then appeared on the field three competitors for the see—the well-known Gavin Douglas, uncle of the late king, and perhaps the most learned and virtuous ecclesiastic of his age—John Hepburn, Prior of St Andrews—and Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray. The queen and the Earl of Angus supported the pretensions of Douglas, with whose assistance he took possession of the Castle of St Andrews, the archiepiscopal palace.* Hepburn, on his side, had the address to get himself elected by the canons of the priory, and succeeded in wresting the castle from Douglas' followers, and kept it against a strong force with which Angus endeavoured to retake it. Forman, in the meantime, by means of his wealth, which is said to have been immense, gained over the

* We may observe here, that, two years after this, Douglas was confined in the same place by the enemies of his house, on a most frivolous charge. In those unhappy times, neither rank, nor learning, nor innocence itself, could protect their possessor, if he or his friends had the misfortune to be obnoxious to the party in power.

pope to his interest, who issued a bull, nominating him to the vacant see. This bull, however, he did not venture to make known in the face of so many enemies, till he had secured the co-operation of Lord Home the Chamberlain, with whose aid, and that of no less than 10,000 armed men, he marched to Edinburgh, and publicly proclaimed it at the cross of that city. He and his adherents next directed their course to St Andrews for the purpose of displacing the prior, who had not only strongly fortified the castle, but had converted the cathedral itself into a military garrison, determined to resist all who should invade his rights. When, however, he saw Forman's force, he thought it most prudent to capitulate. It was accordingly agreed that the papal favourite should be put into peaceable possession of the primacy, on condition that Hepburn should be allowed to retain the revenues he had already collected, that his brother should be made Bishop of Moray, and his nephew Prior of Coldingham. Such was the simoniac termination of this unbecoming contest. Forman enjoyed, moreover, the archbishoprick of Bruges in France, which was given him by Louis XII. He died at Dunfermline, and was buried in the monastery there, of which he was the perpetual commendator.*

* The inscription on Forman's seal is as follows:—

In the course of this episcopate, Prior Hepburn built the extensive wall round the priory and St Leonard's College, of which the greater part is still standing. This wall commences at the north buttress of the east gable of the cathedral, and passes round by the harbour to the foot of the Eastburn Wynd. It then runs behind the houses on the east side of this wynd, as far as St Leonard's Hall, where it went off at a right angle to St Leonard's Chapel and the Pends; after which, it joined the west front of the cathedral. The space thus enclosed is nearly twenty acres. The wall is about twenty feet high, measures 870 yards in extent, and has thirteen round or square towers, each of which has one or two richly carved canopied niches. There are three gateways in this wall; and on several parts may be seen the arms and initials of the prior, with his motto, AD VITAM, one of which has the date 1520. On one of the turrets, near the shore, there is an inscription scarcely legible, but the purport of which seems to be, that Hepburn had carried on certain improvements in the harbour which his predecessor had commenced.

XLII. JAMES BEATON. A.D. 1522-1539.

Few churchmen were more implicated in the political intrigues of the times, or experienced

S. ANDREE FORMAN ARCHIEP. S. ANDREE TOTIUS REGNI PRIMAT. AC APLICI. SEDIS LEGAT. NATL.

greater vicissitudes of fortune, than Archbishop James Beaton. He was the youngest son of the Laird of Balfour, in Fife, and had been Archbishop of Glasgow, Abbot of Dunfermline, and Lord High Treasurer, before receiving the see of St Andrews.* He was also Lord Chancellor of Scotland. In the early part of this episcopate, (for I pass over his previous history,) he joined the Earl of Lennox against the house of Douglas; but his party having been defeated, the Castle of St Andrews and the Abbey of Dunfermline, as both belonging to him, were plundered by the Douglasses; while he himself was obliged to lurk among the mountains, in the disguise of a shepherd, in order to escape from his enemies. When James V. came of age, he conceived a great esteem for the primate, and bestowed both upon him, and his nephew and successor, the celebrated cardinal, many marks of his favour. When, in 1537, the king went abroad to marry Magdalene of France, he left the two archbishops and the Earl of Huntly to govern the kingdom in his absence. Having lost his first wife, he, next year, sent the cardinal to France, to negotiate a second marriage with Mary, Duchess of Lorraine, a marriage fruit-

* Gavin Douglas (now Bishop of Dunkeld) was, on this occasion, a second time candidate for the primacy, but Beaton's interest prevailed. Ruddiman's Life of G. Douglas.

ful of so many evils to Scotland, and of the beautiful princess who was its only surviving offspring. Mary was conveyed by a large fleet of ships to Fife, and landed at Balcomie, where she was met by her royal bridegroom, to whom, after a few days, she was married, with great pomp and ceremony, by the primate in his cathedral church.* The queen resided in the *Novum Hospitium* of the priory for some years, where she bore two sons, both of whom died in their infancy.

During this episcopate, several persons suffered death for alleged heresy, and, among others, the celebrated Patrick Hamilton. This young man, who was of noble extraction, had learnt the reformed doctrines from Luther and Melancthon in Germany, and, on his return home, he fearlessly preached them. Having been inveigled to St Andrews by the artifices of the Romish priests, he was seized, examined, and condemned to be burnt before the gate of St Salvator's College. He bore his sufferings with uncommon fortitude, and died, recommending his soul to God, and beseeching Him to dispel the darkness of popery from his native country.† The famous George

* See a curious account of the arrival of this lady, and of the festivities in St Andrews on the occasion, in Chap. ix.

† A long and interesting history of this martyr's trial and execution may be seen in Lawson's "Roman Catholic Church in Scotland," pp. 35-50.

Buchanan, who was at this time one of the regents of the pedagogium, was seized, and imprisoned in the castle, for composing some severe satirical verses on the Franciscan friars: but he succeeded in making his escape, and went abroad. He himself thus writes concerning these persecutions:—"The beginning of the year following, which was 1539, many persons were arrested as suspected of Lutheranism, and, about the end of February, five were burnt, nine recanted, but many more were banished. Among the sufferers of this class was George Buchanan, who, when his keepers were asleep, made his escape out of the window of the prison to which he was committed."

Beaton latterly entrusted the care of ecclesiastical affairs in a great measure to his nephew. In 1537, by virtue of a papal bull, they changed the Pedagogium into St Mary's College, and endowed it with eight bursaries. They also began some changes in its constitution, and some additions to its buildings, which were afterwards carried on by the cardinal, but were interrupted by his death. "This archbishop, (says Spotswood,) a little after he had assisted at the christening of the king's first son, who was born at St Andrews, departed this life; having designed his successors in all the benefits he enjoyed, which were not a few; for, besides the archbishoprick, he possessed the abacies of Abberbrothick, Dunfermline, and Kilwin-

ning. To his nephew the cardinal he left St Andrews and Abberbrothick; to George Dury his kinsman, the abbacie of Dunfermline; and to Hamilton, of the house of Roplock, the abbacie of Kilwinning. All which, the king, for the esteem wherein he held the archbishop, whilst he lived, confirmed to them, according to his will. He was buried in the abbey church before the high altar.”*

XLIII. DAVID BEATON. A.D. 1539-1546.

This celebrated prelate, who has been called the “Wolsey of Scotland,” was a great favourite of James V., who made him his Lord Privy Seal, and employed him on several political occasions, especially in the negotiation of both his marriages. When in France, where he was ambassador for Scotland, Beaton had the bishoprick of Mirepoix bestowed upon him by the French king; and by the same interest, he was made a cardinal in 1538. “The first act of the cardinal, (says Spotswood,) after his promotion to the see of St Andrews, did show what an enemy he would be to those who were at that time called hereticks; for he was not well warmed in his seat, when, to make his greatness seen, he brought to St Andrews the Earls of

* The inscription on this primate's seal is the same as Forman's, p. 87, with the addition of the motto, “MISERICORDIA.”

Huntly, Arran, Marshall, and Montrose; the Lords Fleming, Lindsay, Erskine, and Seaton, with divers others, barons and men of rank. There came thither also Gawine Archbishop of Glasgow, Chancellor; the Bishops of Aberdeen, Galloway, Brechin, and Dumblane; the Abbots of Melrose, Dunfermline, Lindores, and Kinlosie, with a number of priors, deans, and doctors of theologie. And they all having convened in the cathedral church, he, sitting in a chair erected somewhat above the rest, (for that he was a cardinal,) began to expone the dangers wherein the Catholic faith stood by the increase of hereticks, and the boldness they took to profess their opinions openly, even in the king's court, where, he said, they found too great countenance."

It would be impossible, in a work of this kind, to notice even the leading occurrences of Beaton's short but eventful episcopate, and therefore I hasten to its tragical termination. He persecuted the reformers with great severity, and caused Wishart to be burned, on the plea of heresy, in front of the Castle of St Andrews. It has lately been proved, however, from an investigation of certain state papers, that Wishart had been for a considerable time engaged in a conspiracy, with the agents of Henry VIII. of England, against the cardinal's life. Henry was the avowed and bitter enemy of Beaton, because the latter was the main obstacle

to his favourite scheme for subjecting Scotland to the English monarchy, under the cloak of marrying Prince Edward to Queen Mary. So much opposed to this design was the cardinal, and so favourable to it were most of the Scottish nobility,* that when they met for the purpose of furthering it, they resolved, in the first instance, to imprison the cardinal, merely to get rid of his opposition; which accordingly they did, by shutting him up for a time in his own Castle of St Andrews. The King of England, therefore, it may easily be supposed, left no means untried to remove one who stood so much in the way of his ambition;† and

* The Scottish nobility of this period, with all their pretended zeal for reformation, seem to have been in a very degenerate state. Sir Ralph Sadler, who had opportunities of knowing them well, remarks, "I see none amongst them that hath any agility of wit or learning." It is well known that many of them received, through Sir Ralph, regular pensions from the King of England, on the condition of furthering his selfish objects.

† The following order of Henry VIII.'s privy council to the Earl of Hertford, dated April 1544, plainly shows what that monarch's views were as to Scotland generally, and as to Cardinal Beaton and his archiepiscopal city in particular. The earl is directed to enter Scotland with an army, and "there to put all to fire and sword, to burn Edinburgh town, and raze the castle, putting man, woman, and child to fire and sword, where any resistance shall be made against you. And this done, pass over to the Fifeland, and extend like extremities and destruction to all towns and villages whereunto you may reach conveniently; not forgetting, amongst all the rest, *so to spoil and turn upside down the cardinal's town of St Andrews as the upper stone may be the nether, and not one stick stand by another;*

for this purpose he engaged in his interest, *and in his pay*, Wishart, the two Leslie's, Crichton, Kirkaldy, and others, who undertook to dispatch the cardinal at the first favourable opportunity. Beaton was no doubt aware of this, and with some difficulty got Wishart arrested; but, thinking he could more easily substantiate heresy against him than conspiracy and treason, he had him tried and executed on the first of these charges.* His accomplices, either trembling for their own fate, or anxious to be revenged for the death of their friend, resolved to delay no longer the execution of their plot; and having succeeded in gaining admission into the Castle of St Andrews, where the cardinal resided, they murdered him on the 29th May, 1546. The following is Tytler's account of this bloody deed:—"On the evening of the 28th May, Norman Lesly came, with only five followers, to St Andrews, and rode, without

sparing no creature alive within the same, specially such as either in friendship or blood be allied to the cardinal." See Chalmers' Life of Queen Mary, Vol. I. 407.

• If Wishart (says Chalmers) had had twenty lives, he ought to have lost them all, *but not for heresy*. The fact of his being concerned in the plot against Beaton's life would account for the well known prophecy respecting that prelate's violent death, which in his last moments he is *said* to have uttered. But there is very little evidence that he ever delivered such a prophecy at all, or even that the cardinal was a witness of his execution. Anecdotes of this kind owe their currency, less to the grounds on which they rest, than to their being adapted to feed the appetite for the marvellous.

exciting suspicion, to his usual inn. William Kirkaldy of Grange was there already, and they were soon joined by John Lesly, who took the precaution of entering the town after night-fall, as his appearance, from his known enmity to Beaton, might have raised alarm. Next morning at day-break, the conspirators assembled in small detached knots in the vicinity of the castle, and the porter having lowered the drawbridge to admit the masons employed in the new works, Norman Lesly, and three men with him, passed the gates, and enquired if the cardinal was yet awake? This was done without suspicion, and as they were occupied in conversation, James Melville, Kirkaldy of Grange, and their followers, entered unnoticed; but on perceiving John Lesly, who followed, the porter instantly suspected treason, and springing to the drawbridge, had unloosed its iron fastening, when the conspirator Lesly anticipated his purpose by leaping across the gap. To dispatch him with their daggers, cast the body into the fosse, and seize the keys of the castle, employed but a few minutes; and all was done with such silence as well as rapidity, that no alarm had been given. With equal quietness, the workmen who laboured on the ramparts were led to the gate and dismissed. Kirkaldy, who was ac-

• The cardinal was fortifying the castle against the threatened attack of Henry VIII.'s forces.

quainted with the castle, then took his station at a private postern, through which alone any escape could be made; and the rest of the conspirators going successively to the apartments of the different gentlemen who formed the prelate's household, awoke them, and threatening instant death if they spoke, led them one by one to the outer wicket, and dismissed them unhurt. In this manner, a hundred workmen and fifty household servants were disposed of by a handful of men, who, closing the gates and dropping the portcullis, were complete masters of the castle. Meanwhile, Beaton, the unfortunate victim, against whom all this hazard had been encountered, was still asleep; but awakening, and hearing an unusual bustle, he threw on a night-gown, and drawing up the window of his bedchamber, enquired what it meant? Being answered that Norman Lesly had taken the castle, he rushed to the private postern, but seeing it already guarded, returned speedily to his own apartment, seized his sword, and, with the assistance of his page, barricaded the door on the inside with his heaviest furniture. John Lesly now coming up, demanded admittance. "Who are you?" said the cardinal. "My name," he replied, "is Lesly."—"Is it Norman?" asked the unhappy man, remembering probably the bond of man-rent.* "I must have

* Norman Lesly had granted a bond of man-rent to the

Norman, he is my friend."—"Nay, I am not **Norman**," answered the ruffian, "but John, and with me ye must be contented;" upon which he called for fire, and was about to apply it to the door, when it was unlocked from within. The conspirators now rushed in, and Lesly and Carmichael throwing themselves furiously upon their victim, who earnestly implored mercy, stabbed him repeatedly.—The alarm had now risen in the town; the common bell was rung; and the citizens, with their provost, running in confused crowds to the side of the fosse, demanded admittance, crying out that they must instantly speak with my Lord Cardinal. They were answered from the battlements, that it would be better for them to disperse, as he whom they called for could not come to them, and would not trouble the world any longer. This, however, only irritated them the more; and being urgent that they would speak with him, Norman Lesly reproved them as unreasonable fools who desired an audience of a dead man; and dragging the body to the spot, hung it by a sheet over the wall, naked, ghastly, and bleeding from its recent wounds. "There," said he, "there is your god; and now ye are satisfied, get you home to your houses," a command which the people instantly

cardinal for the estate of Easter Wemyss, but had quarrelled with him afterwards.

obeyed.* Thus perished Cardinal David Beaton, the most powerful opponent of the reformed religion in Scotland—by an act which some authors, even in the present day, have scrupled to call murder. To these writers, the secret and long continued correspondence with England was unknown; a circumstance perhaps to be regretted, as it would have saved some idle and angry reasoning. By its disclosure, we have been enabled to trace the secret history of these iniquitous times; and it may now be pronounced, without fear of contradiction, that the assassination of Beaton was no sudden event, arising simply out of indignation for the fate of Wishart; but an act of long projected murder, encouraged, if not originated, by the English monarch, and, so far as the principal conspirators were concerned, committed from private and mercenary motives.”†

XLIV. JOHN HAMILTON. A.D. 1546-1571.

This last Roman Catholic Archbishop of St Andrews was half-brother to the Earl of Arran, governor of Scotland, and was translated to this

* According to Sir James Balfour, the cardinal's body, after lying sometime in salt in the sea tower of the castle, was privately buried in the convent of the Black Friars, St Andrews.

† See Tytler, Vol. V. p. 426, and Appendix. It is remarkable that in the teeth of all this evidence against Wishart, our popular church orators still proclaim him as a martyr. Whether this proceeds from ignorance or from prejudice, I know not.

see from that of Dunkeld. He completed the buildings of St Mary's College which the two Beaton had commenced, and in virtue of a bull from Pope Julius III. in 1554, endowed it out of his archiepiscopal revenues, for the maintenance of four principal professors, called the provost, licentiate, bachelor, and canonist; eight students of theology; three professors of philosophy, and two of rhetoric and grammar; sixteen students of philosophy, a provisor, cook, and janitor, and five vicars pensionary. For this he is surely entitled to the gratitude of posterity; but his next public measure must be viewed in a different light. With a view to check the progress of the reformed opinions, he caused Walter Mill, an aged priest who had embraced them, to be tried and burnt at St Andrews on a charge of heresy. The scene of this melancholy spectacle was in front of the main gate of the priory, or what is now called *the Pends*. This occurred in the year 1558, and seems to have been an unpopular and impolitic, as well as cruel act, for it was in the very next year that the cathedral and monasteries were destroyed by the inhabitants of the city, of which we shall say more presently. In 1560, Hamilton and his brother bishops attended the parliament in Edinburgh, which decreed, by an overwhelming majority, (though without any royal sanction,) the overthrow of the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland;

enacting, among other things, that all who should in future celebrate mass, or be present at its celebration, should, for the first offence, be punished by confiscation of goods, for the second; by banishment, and for the third, by *death*. In 1563, Hamilton was thrown into the prison of Edinburgh Castle for saying mass, but at the earnest entreaty of Queen Mary and his own relations, he was soon after liberated. We may here remark, that Mary, about this time, was in the practice of coming and taking up her abode in St Andrews, of which we shall have more to say in Chap. IX., when speaking of the state of the city at the time of the Reformation. In 1566, we find Hamilton officiating at the baptism of the infant James VI. at Stirling, on which occasion, by a sort of compromise among the parties concerned, he was permitted to use the ceremonies of his own church.* He little thought, at the time, that, in five years after, he was to be hanged on a common gibbet in the same town, and dressed, out of mockery, in his canonical robes—yet so it was! After the defeat of Mary at Langside in 1568, he wisely advised her, though without

* The Countess of Argyle, (half-sister of Queen Mary, and godmother to the infant king, on behalf of Queen Elizabeth,) merely for being present at this popish solemnity, was afterwards compelled to do open penance, clothed in a white sheet, in the church of Stirling! Such were the times; and such, we may add, was the power of the Protestant party, even at this early period of the Reformation.

effect, not to trust herself to the Queen of England. He attended her as far as the Solway, and on seeing her determination to leave her own kingdom, he waded into the river, seized the bridle of her horse, and conjured her to return by every argument which his agitated mind could suggest. After this, the Earl of Murray, who was then regent, declared him a traitor; "whereupon, (says Keith,) after lurking sometime among his friends, he fled for security to the strong castle of Dumbarton, at the taking of which fortress, he fell into the hands of his enemies, *and was publicly hanged on a common gibbet* in the town of Stirling."*

During this episcopate, the Reformation was making rapid progress in Scotland:† but it was

* It is astonishing how little sympathy has been expressed for the cruel and undeserved fate of this man. If he had the misfortune to be a popish prelate, so, it should be remembered, were his illustrious predecessors, Lamber-ton, Wardlaw, and Kennedy; and if he were an adherent of Queen Mary, so were half the nobility of the kingdom. Whatever might be his private faults, they could be no justification of his public execution. His liberal endowment of St Mary's College, St Andrews, should alone have exempted him from such an ignominious fate. Dr Cook, in his History of the Church, expresses a very becoming indignation at the savage and tyrannical conduct of his enemies.

† Archbishop Hamilton (with a view, no doubt, to check the progress of the new opinions) published a Catechism, a copy of which, printed at St Andrews in 1552, in black letter, is preserved in the University Library. For an ac-

unfortunately tarnished with many errors and excesses, two of which only it falls to my province to notice—*first*, the impropriation of nearly the whole of the ecclesiastical revenues by the aristocracy ;* and, *secondly*, the destruction of a large proportion of the ecclesiastical edifices by the violence of the preachers and the populace. Of both these, remarkable examples occurred at St Andrews, but for the present I confine myself to the latter. “ Archbishop Hamilton, (says Keith,) hearing that Mr Knox intended on the morrow, which was Sunday the 11th June 1559, to preach to the congregation in his cathedral church of St Andrews, came thither the Saturday before, accompanied with a hundred armed men, to stop him. And the Lords of the Congregation were so apprehensive of the mischief that might follow, (considering that Falkland, where the Queen and

curate account of this curious and rare document, see Dr Cook's History of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 363-367.

* In Knox's “ Historie of the Reformation,” it is stated that “ there war nane within the realm more unmercifull to the puir ministers than war they wha had the grittest rents of the kirkes.” In reply to the just complaint of these “ puir ministers,” the “ unmercifull” plunderers told them that their petition for a share of the church revenues was a *devout imagination!* In fact, the ministers contributed to bring this treatment upon their own heads. They had declaimed against the appropriation of so much wealth to sacred purposes: the nobility thought as they did in this respect, and took most of it to themselves; and having thus got the lion's share of the spoil, they had no mind to part with it.

the French lay, was but twelve miles distant from St Andrews,) that they counselled Mr Knox to forbear preaching at that time. But no persuasion of his friends, nor threatening of his enemies, could prevail with him." Accordingly, he preached on the 11th and the three following days, a series of inflammatory discourses on the subject of Christ's purifying the Temple of Jerusalem; the effect of which was, that on the 15th the mob were incited to commence pulling down almost all the sacred edifices in the city.* They not only demolished,

* It might have occurred to the preacher and his audience, that there was a wide difference between purifying the Temple and destroying it. But the "still small voice" of reason is not heard amidst the uproar of the passions. Dr M'Crie (Knox's very partial biographer) thus speaks of the above proceedings: "Such was the influence of his doctrine, that the provost, bailies, and inhabitants, (of St Andrews,) *harmoniously agreed* to set up the reformed worship in the town; the church was stripped of its images and pictures, and the monasteries pulled down," p. 188. He avoids all mention of the destruction of the cathedral. In p. 192 he goes so far as to justify these outrages: "I look upon the destruction of these monuments as a piece of *good policy*, which contributed materially to the overthrow of the Roman Catholic religion, and the prevention of its re-establishment!" The English, we may remark, contrived to preserve both their Reformation and their cathedrals, and why could not the Scotch? Evidently because in Scotland the Reformation, instead of being effected by the government and the church, was brought about chiefly by the aristocracy and the populace: the former of whom thought of nothing but of securing to themselves the church lands, and the latter had no other notion of reformation than of flying from one extreme to the other.

in whole or in part, the monasteries of the Black and Grey Friars, the priory, the provostry of Kirkheugh, and the ancient church of St Regulus, but the **SPLENDID CATHEDRAL**—the metropolitan church of Scotland for so many centuries, the scene of so many interesting events—the tomb of so many prelates—all of them eminent for their rank or their learning, and most of them for their piety and virtue.

The same occurrences took place, at the same time, over nearly the whole of Scotland. And the next year, the Protestant leaders, to testify their approbation of such outrages, and to finish systematically what had begun, as it were, accidentally, passed an act of their own “for demolishing cloisters and abbey churches, such as were not yet pulled down;” the execution of which was committed to their most violent partisans. “Whereupon (says Spotswood) ensued a pitifull vastation of churches and church buildings, throughout all parts of the kingdom; for every

With respect to the extraordinary effects of Knox’s sermons, I may here quote Mr James Melville, who knew him, and often heard him preach: “He was sa active and vigorus that he was lyk to ding the pulpit in blads, and flie out of it.”

A fine engraving of “Knox preaching before the Lords of the Congregation” at St Andrews has lately been published from a painting by Wilkie; but, as in most historical pieces of the kind, several characters are introduced, who, it is certain, were not present. The Admirable Crichton, who is one of them, was not born till the year after.

one made bold to put to their hands ; the meaner sort imitating the example of the greater. No difference was made, but all churches either defaced or pulled to the ground. The holy vessels, and whatsoever else they could make gain of, as timber, lead, and bells, were put to sale." The very sepulchres of the dead were not spared ; not even those of our kings and queens at Dunfermline, Scone, Melrose, and Arbroath, so that there was not one left entire in all Scotland. Nor was this all. The numerous libraries and MSS. belonging to the religious houses were, for the most part, burnt : and thus nearly all the bulls of the popes, charters of kings, noblemen, and prelates, acts of national and diocesan councils, and ancient histories, registers, and chronicles, were swept away in one general destruction. A few of these, indeed, were saved, and were carried over to France, where they were deposited in the Scots Colleges of Paris and Douay. Unfortunately, however, they experienced the same fate from the French Jacobins in 1790, which the first had experienced from the Scotch Fanatics in 1560. So apt are extremes to meet, and the same atrocities to be committed by men holding diametrically opposite principles!

CHAPTER VII.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED—FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE
REVOLUTION—ARCHBISHOPS DOUGLAS—ADAMSON—INTERREG-
NUM OF FIFTEEN YEARS—GLADSTONES—SPOTSWOOD—INTER-
REGNUM OF TWENTY-THREE YEARS—SHARP—BURNET—ROSS.

XLV. JOHN DOUGLAS. A.D. 1572-1576.

“AFTER the death of Archbishop Hamilton, (says Keith,) the rents of the see were, by the regent, conferred upon the Earl of Morton; and this nobleman, being desirous to enjoy these rents in some sort of legal manner, made choice of Mr John Douglas, then Provost of St Mary’s College, to be elected titular bishop, (titular, I mean, for want of a real ecclesiastical consecration,) and he was accordingly admitted bishop of this church by the General Assembly of the kirk convened at Perth in August 1572.”

John Knox was present at the inauguration of Douglas, and Winram (formerly sub-prior of St Andrews, and now superintendent of Fife) presided on the occasion. This, and the two next

archbishops, were termed *tulchan* bishops; so named from a practice once in use of stuffing calfskins with straw, called tulchan calves, for the purpose of making a cow give milk. So, the lay peers of Scotland, after the Reformation, put certain ministers into the bishopricks, and, through them, drew the greater part of their revenues, or obtained advantageous leases of church lands. These tulchan bishops possessed little more than the shadow of episcopal jurisdiction: they were subject to the authority of the Synods and General Assemblies of the kirk, who looked upon them with jealousy, and sought every opportunity to make them sensible of their inferior and dependent condition.*

XLVI. PATRICK ADAMSON. A.D. 1576-1591.

It is not easy to form a correct opinion either of Adamson or of his successor Gladstones, so opposite are the accounts of them which are handed down to us by contemporary Episcopal and Presbyterian authors. Adamson, however, was acknowledged to be an eloquent preacher; and that he was a man of great learning, and an elegant Latin poet, his published writings testify. He was edu-

* This state of things occasioned the following curious play upon words:—*My lord bishop* (it was said) was popish or episcopal; *my lord's bishop* was the tulchan bishop, or lay nobleman's deputy; *the Lord's bishop* was the true and faithful pastor of Christ's flock.

cated at St Andrews ; after which he travelled on the continent, where, from the popish persecutions which were at that time prevalent, he was more than once in danger of his life : but I pass over his early history. When Buchanan, in 1570, resigned the principalship of St Leonard's College, he is said to have done so "in favour of his well-beloved Patrick Adamson," who, notwithstanding, from some unexplained cause, does not appear in the list of those who held that office. In 1573, he became minister of Paisley, and chaplain to the regent Earl of Morton, by whom, on the death of Douglas, he was made Archbishop of St Andrews, although without any legal consecration. In his capacity of chancellor of the university, he introduced the exclusive study of theology into St Mary's College, instead of philosophy, which had been principally taught there before, and procured the change to be confirmed by parliament. He brought the famous Mr Andrew Melville from Glasgow, and made him rector of the university ; but he had reason to repent of this choice ; for the rest of his life was embittered by controversy with this man, who had been bred at Geneva, and used all his talents and influence, which were considerable, to harass his patron, and overthrow Episcopacy. He even went so far as to get the archbishop excommunicated, which led to a public altercation between

these two individuals, in the course of which Melville called his opponent an unclean beast, a liar and a blasphemer, and, among other opprobrious epithets, "an asserter of liberty of conscience!" In 1586, he was summoned before the General Assembly of the kirk for marrying the Roman Catholic Earl of Huntly to his Countess, without first obliging him to renounce his religion by signing the Presbyterian Confession of Faith! for which, and other alleged misdemeanours, he was deposed, and a second time excommunicated.

Towards the close of his life, Adamson fell into a state of poverty and sickness, which his enemies laboured to convince him was a just judgment of Heaven for his acceptance of the episcopal office. In this unhappy condition, he was prevailed on to submit to his antagonist Melville, and sign a recantation of his former opinions. After this, Pres-

• Calderwood's History, p. 204. See an account of the turbulent conduct of Melville, and his disputes with Adamson, in the Rev. Mr Grierson's Delineation of St Andrews, p. 36-41. He was in the end banished from Scotland, and after four years confinement in the Tower of London, was sent to Sedan in France, where he died. Dr M'Crie has written a life of him, in which his conduct is vindicated throughout, and no small abuse heaped upon Archbishops Adamson and Gladstones. M'Crie even goes so far as to say that *next to Knox*, Scotland owes a deeper debt of gratitude to A. Melville than to any other individual! There was certainly *one* point of resemblance between the two; the former destroyed the Cathedral of St Andrews, and the latter *attempted* to destroy that of Glasgow! See Dr Cooke's History of the Church, Vol. I. p. 296.

byterianism acquired the ascendancy in Scotland, the archiepiscopal revenues of St Andrews were granted to the Duke of Lennox, and the see remained vacant fifteen years.

One of the charges brought against Adamson by the Presbyterians was, that he had been cured of some complaint by women who were reported witches; and by one in particular, named Alison Pearson, who confessed having learnt the healing art from a William Simpson, who appeared to her several times after his death, and gave her a book! This woman was afterwards tried and condemned for a witch by the presbytery of Perth, and delivered over to the charge of Adamson, to be confined in the Castle of St Andrews till her execution. She made her escape, however, with, it was supposed, the archbishop's connivance: but she was again caught and executed at Edinburgh. See Mr J. Melville's Diary, p. 97.

There was one Semple who wrote a "Legend of the Bishop of St Androis Lyfe," which Dr Irving calls "a most gross and illiberal attack upon the character of Dr Patrick Adamson, a prelate of ingenuity and erudition, who has often been scandalously traduced."

When James VI. learnt that sentence of death had been pronounced against his mother in England, he appointed a fast day in Scotland, and commanded Adamson to officiate in St Giles, Edin-

burgh, and to pray for the unfortunate queen. But the Presbyterian ministers put up into the pulpit a violent and conceited young man, of the name of John Couper; upon seeing whom, the king, who was present, exclaimed, "Master John, that place was designed for another; yet, since you are there, do your duty, and obey the charge to pray for my mother." Couper replied that he would speak no otherwise than *as the Spirit should direct him*: and, beginning to pray in his own manner, with a shower of scriptural nicknames upon the poor queen, the king commanded him to stop: whereupon he gave a knock on the pulpit, and exclaimed, "This day shall bear witness against you in the day of the Lord. Woe be to thee, O Edinburgh! for the last of thy plagues shall be the worst." After uttering these words, he passed down from the pulpit, and, *accompanied by all the women who were present*, left the church. Immediately the Archbishop of St Andrews took his place, and preached a sermon concerning praying for princes, in which he convinced his hearers that the desire of the king to pray for his mother was most praiseworthy and reasonable. See Sharpe's edition of Kirkton, p. 12; Dr Cook's History of the Church, Vol. I. p. 415.

During the interregnum of the Archbishops of St Andrews, which followed the death of Adamson, the following anecdote, in addition to the

foregoing, may give us some insight into the manners and opinions of the times. James VI. was in the habit of visiting St Andrews at this period: and, on one of these occasions, in the year 1597, he went to church to hear a sermon from a Presbyterian divine of the name of Wallace, who, we may remark, was afterwards deposed for sedition. (See Grierson's St Andrews, p. 38.) In the course of the sermon, Wallace advanced something which clashed with the king's sentiments on a point then at issue between him and the Presbyterian ministers. The king immediately rose up, and contradicted the preacher before the whole audience. Mr Andrew Melville got up in his turn, defended Wallace, and sharply reprimanded James for his unseasonable interference! This was not all. An earthquake occurred soon after, in the West Highlands of Scotland; and Mr James Melville (in his "Diary," wherein he tells the above story, p. 274) gravely ascribes the earthquake to God's displeasure against the king for interrupting the discourse of his servant Mr Wallace, and which he compares to Uzziah's laying hold of the ark of God!

XLVII. GEORGE GLADSTONES. A.D. 1606-1615.

Regular ordination to the offices of the ministry having been set aside by the first reformers in

Scotland as a remnant of Popery,* Gladstones received the apostolical commission from the Bishops of Brechin, Galloway, and Glasgow, who, on their part, had derived it from the English bishops—a body which had carefully preserved and transmitted this invaluable right uninterrupted from the earliest age. Gladstones had been minister of Airdbirlett, and was brought to St Andrews so early as 1597, by King James VI., “of purpose (says Martine) to ballance and poize Mr Andrew Melville, and to guard the students and universitie against his principles, and to fence them from being tinged with his seditious and turbulent way; and many a hote bickering there was betwixt them thereupon.” Notwithstanding all that Gladstones’ enemies have written against him;† it appears from the records of the kirk-sessions and presbyteries of his diocese, that beside opening their ordinary meetings with

* “Ordinary vocation consisteth in election, examination, and admission. Other ceremonies than the public approbation of the people, and declaration of the chief minister, that the person there preferred is appointed to serve the church, we cannot approve; for albeit the apostles used imposition of hands, yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we judge not necessary.” First Book of Discipline, 1560.

† Some of these accusations are too gross or too absurd to be repeated. One of the mildest of them is conveyed under the following pun:—“In *baccho* et *tobaccho* noctes diesque indulgebat.”

sermon, he visited the churches subject to his jurisdiction with great diligence, and was in the habit of preaching in all of them. Gladstones died in the spring of 1615, and was buried in the communion aisle of the parish church of St Andrews. Martine mentions that he consented to the alienation of the castle from the archbishoprick in favour of the Earl of Dunbar, and received in lieu of it, from the king and parliament, a pension of 300 merks, together with certain rights which had formerly belonged to the see, but had been transferred to the crown at the Reformation. He also alienated part of the ecclesiastical estates, or let them out on long leases, for some private considerations, for which he is justly censured by his successor Spotswood, who, notwithstanding, praises him in other respects.

In the early part of this episcopate, the town-hall of St Andrews* was the scene of a trial which at the time caused a great sensation in Scotland, though its details are now of little interest. Lord Balmerino, principal Secretary of State for Scotland, was accused of having, in the king's name, written a letter to the pope, soliciting his patronage for one Chisholm, a Scots Roman Catholic priest, in which letter he styled the pope *beatiss-*

* The city arms, and the date 1561, are on the posterior part of this building.

sine pater, sanctitas, &c. and styled himself *filius*. For this he was tried on a charge of high treason, and sentenced to lose his head. The sentence was, however, not executed; but he was imprisoned for life, and degraded from his honours, and after a few years died of a broken heart.—*Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, A.D. 1609.*

XLVIII. JOHN SPOTSWOOD. A.D. 1615-1639.

This pious and excellent prelate was son of the superintendent of Lothian, one of the most temperate and judicious of the reformers. To pass over his early career, which was in all respects highly honourable to him, he was translated from the see of Glasgow to the primacy in the year above mentioned. In 1617, James VI., who had now succeeded to the throne of England, came down to Scotland, and met Spotswood and the Scots bishops, and many of the clergy, in the chapel of the Castle of St Andrews, where he entered into a conference with them, on what was afterwards so well known by “the Five Articles of Perth,” which he was most anxious they should agree to. After hearing his majesty, the clergy obtained leave to retire to the parish church, where they deliberated together for two hours, and then returned, and intimated to him their opinion that the said articles would be acquiesced in by a general assembly of the church. The

king then held a personal disputation with Calderwood the church historian, who, (says Spotswood,) "for carrying himself irreverently, and breaking forth into speeches not becoming a subject, was committed to the town-house of St Andrews, and afterwards banished the kingdom."

We may here remark, that this was the last time that James, or any other sovereign, ever visited this ancient city; though we have seen, from the foregoing history, that almost every king of Scotland, from Alexander I. downwards, was in the practice of coming to it from time to time, and that some of them made it their occasional place of residence.

At the end of the same year, the General Assembly met at St Andrews, but, much to the dissatisfaction of the king, did not come to any definite conclusion on the subject submitted to them. Next year, however, they assembled at Perth, when Spotswood at length succeeded in getting them to pass, by a majority of eighty-six to forty-one, the five articles in question; which articles, together with the subsequent attempt to introduce a liturgy, unhappily gave rise to "the Solemn League and Covenant," and to the civil war which wasted the country during a period of

* On this occasion also, James acted as moderator of the schools in the university, and on the authority of a *mandamus*, created several doctors of divinity.

Twenty years. Spotswood, in his History, (p. 538, 9,) has given the said articles at full length; and no one at the present day can, I think, read them without admiring the Christian spirit which dictated them, and acknowledging at the same time their reasonableness, when it is remembered that Episcopacy was then the established religion of the country. They were, in brief, these—that the Lord's supper should be received kneeling—that, in cases of sickness, both sacraments might be administered privately—that young persons should be brought to the bishop for confirmation—and, lastly, that Christmas-day, Good-Friday, Easter-day, Ascension-day, and Whitsunday, should be observed as religious fasts or festivals. These articles were enjoined by lawful authority, and were not contrary to Scripture. They were, besides, in strict unison with the example of the purest ages of Christianity, and with that of most of the reformed churches of the time; particularly of the church of England, between whom and her sister of Scotland it was thought desirable there should be a conformity, now that they were both under one sovereign. Add to this, what is not so generally known, that the above festivals were kept, and that a liturgy, the same in substance with the one now introduced, was used by the church as reformed by Knox, for several years after the Reformation. But neither reason, nor antiquity,

nor authority, were of any avail. The stool of Janet Geddes was more than a match for them all. But to return.

The primate was made Chancellor of Scotland, and crowned Charles I. at Edinburgh in 1633. Charles, at the same time, erected Edinburgh into a separate bishoprick; and as, in so doing, he diminished the diocese and income of St Andrews, he purchased the revenues of the priory which had fallen into the hands of the Duke of Lennox, and annexed them to the metropolitan see.

It should also be recorded of Spotswood, that he built the beautiful parish church at his seat of Dairsie, near St Andrews. This edifice was sacrilegiously defaced after the overthrow of Episcopacy, but has lately been restored to its original state.* He moreover wrote an excellent History of the Church of Scotland, which we have had frequent occasion to quote in the course of this work. When he perceived the religious troubles arising in Scotland on account of the liturgy, he withdrew into England, and remained some time at Newcastle. He was deposed and excommunicated, along with the other Scottish bishops, by the rebellious assembly of the kirk which met at Glas-

* The arms and initials of the pious founder, beautifully cut, are over the west door, with this inscription, *JEHOVAH DILEXI DECOREM DOMUS TUÆ*. The pulpit occupies the place of the altar.

grow in 1638.* He died in London on the 26th November the following year, aged 73; and by command of the king, was buried by torch-light in Westminster Abbey, near the tomb of James VI., a great number of the nobility and gentry then in London following him to the grave, and the dean and prebendaries celebrating his obsequies agreeably to the ritual of the church of England. The see of St Andrews remained vacant during the time of the Grand Rebellion.

Scotland was never perhaps in a more degraded condition than during the above period. Nearly the whole country, as if possessed with a spirit of infatuation, entered into a seditious compact with the English sectaries, to whom they were keenly

* In this assembly, Spotswood and his brethren were accused of almost every crime that can be named, and that by clergymen, nearly all of whom had been episcopally ordained, and had sworn canonical obedience to the very bishops whom they now had the impiety to depose and excommunicate! Bishop Burnet (in his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*) mentions that *Armenianism* was one of the charges on which the bishops were condemned by this assembly, and that this was concurred in by numerous lay-elders who could not so much as *read*! It was a curious coincidence, that the same General Assembly, when sitting in Edinburgh, fifteen years after, was, by Cromwell's order, rudely broken in upon by armed soldiers, the members publicly drummed out of the city, and forbid to meet again on pain of imprisonment, without his special permission. They found to their cost, what all history might have told them, that the tyranny of a legitimate prince is nothing to that of a successful demagogue. See Principal Baillie's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 369.

opposed in many respects, and by whom they were afterwards severely oppressed. By their joint efforts, they succeeded in overthrowing the established religion in both countries, and took up arms against their sovereign Charles I., one of the best of men, though the most unfortunate of princes. The mania in favour of the crusades themselves was not more violent, and surely not more unreasonable, than that now displayed in support of the "Solemn League and Covenant." The Presbyterian pulpits rang with inflammatory politics, the covenant was pressed upon all classes of the community under the severest penalties, and a tyranny exercised over the persons and consciences of a large proportion of the Scottish nation, unexampled in the darkest ages of popery and despotism.* The same religious uniformity which the Covenanters had condemned Charles for attempting, they themselves now laboured to establish throughout Scotland, England, and Ireland, and by means far more oppressive than that monarch had ever resorted to.† But it is out of

* See Spalding's "History of the Troubles in Scotland and England," lately published by the Bannatyne Club; Dr Cook's History of the Church, Vol. III. p. 74.

† To have a just idea of the Covenanters, we must know the contents of their covenant. The subscribers to this document, after avowing that they will "endeavour the extirpation of Popery and Prelacy," declare that *they will "bring to public trial and condign punishment, all malignant and others who make any faction contrary to this league*

my province to enter upon the particulars of this distressing period of our national history. The rebellion led, as is well known, to the betrayal of the king by the Scotch, his judicial murder by the English, and the establishment of a military despotism over the whole country. Scotland, which had been inaccessible to the Roman arms in the plenitude of their power, and had successfully resisted the whole force of England for many centuries, was now completely conquered by a small army of Independents, Antinomians, and Anabaptists! But the character of the times was changed. The days of the Bruces, the Grahams, and the Douglasses, were gone, and those of the Hendersons, the Rutherfords, and the Cants, had succeeded. This distracted country became, in

and covenant." They end with beseeching God to bless their proceedings! All this was twenty-four years before what have been called the "Episcopal persecutions" commenced; which persecutions, though unjustifiably severe, were in fact brought on by the intolerance of the Covenanters themselves. See the notes in Mr Kirkpatrick Sharpe's edition of "Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland," where the *true* character and proceedings of these misguided people are disclosed. In many cases, their lives would have been spared, though taken in arms against the government, on the simple condition of their saying, "God save the king," which, notwithstanding, they refused doing! How different from the early Christian martyrs! Burnet, in his History of his Own Times, remarks, that the tests imposed on these men *after* the Restoration was a just though severe retribution for having imposed their obnoxious covenant on others, *previous* to that event.

consequence, an easy prey to the invaders, who almost annihilated her nobility and gentry, stripped her of her wealth, and ruled both her church and state with a rod of iron, from which she was only rescued by the restoration of Charles II.*

• Among other evils which prevailed during the reign of the covenant, was the extraordinary passion for burning witches! (See "Selections from the Records of the Presbyteries of Cupar and St Andrews," lately published by the Abbotsford Club.) It is a curious fact, that we read of very few instances of this species of fanaticism before the Reformation. How this is to be accounted for, I know not. Perhaps the human mind, having been long accustomed to superstition during the dark ages of Popery, and having indignantly shaken off that thralldom, could scarcely for a time avoid falling into another kind of superstition. But be this as it may, there is too much reason to apprehend that the "Witch Lake" and the "Witch Hill" in St Andrews derive their names from their having been used as a place of punishment for these unhappy creatures. The *tradition* is, that they were first thrown into the lake, to see whether they would float or sink. If they sank, they were not witches, but they were drowned, nevertheless, as if the very suspicion of witchcraft deserved drowning; if they floated, they were undoubted witches, in which case they were taken out of the water, and burned on the adjacent hill! "About this tyme, (says Spalding in his History, Vol. II. p. 151,) many witches ar takin in Anstruther, Dysart, Culros, Santandrois, and sindrie uther pairtis in the cost syde of Fyf. They maid strange confessionis, and war brynt to the death." In Fife alone, in the course of a few months of the year 1643, upwards of thirty persons were burnt for witchcraft! It is not generally known, that even John Knox had been concerned in an affair of this kind. James Melville, in his "Diary," speaking of an execution which he had witnessed at Stirling, adds, "It was the first execution that ever I saw, *except of a witch at St Andras, against the quhilk Mr Knox delt from the pulpit, sche being*

The first occurrence of moment which took place at St Andrews, during this gloomy period, was the execution, in 1646, of Colonel N. Gordon, Sir Robert Spotswood, son of the late archbishop, (President of the Court of Session, and principal Secretary of State for Scotland,) Captain Andrew Guthrie, son of the Bishop of Moray, and William Murray, brother of the Earl of Tullibardine, only nineteen years of age. These brave and loyal gentlemen had been taken prisoners by the covenanting army, when they were fighting in the cause of Charles I., under the command of the gallant Marquis of Montrose, his majesty's lieutenant-general for Scotland. They were tried at a parliament held in the lower hall of the present university library, and sentenced to be beheaded, for no other crime than their fidelity to their king. The axe with which their heads were cut off is still kept in the custody of the town-clerk of St Andrews.*

set up at a pillar before him," p. 46. The Regent Murray also caused a reputed witch, commonly called "Mother Nicniven," to be burnt here. This is probably the same person who is mentioned by Sir W. Scott, in "The Abbot," as having assisted Queen Mary in her escape from Loch Leven Castle.

• For several very interesting particulars concerning their execution, and especially a beautiful letter which Sir R. Spotswood wrote to the Marquis of Montrose from the Castle of St Andrews, the day before his execution, see Wishart's *Memoirs*, pp. 236-246. The famous covenanting

The next occurrence deserving notice at this time is a petition from the magistrates and town-council of St Andrews to General Monk, together with his answer, of which the following are copies. They afford some idea of the severe military despotism under which Scotland groaned at the period in question, and how little she had gained by the rebellion against her lawful sovereign :—

“ To the Right Honourable General Monk,
Commander-in-Chiefe of the Forces in Scotland, the Petition of the Provost, Bailies, and remanent Counsell of the City of St Andrews, for themselves, and in name and behalf

minister, Mr R. Blair, accompanied Sir Robert to the scaffold, and when there behaved to him with the utmost rudeness, throwing out many calumnious reflections both against him and his father, the late archbishop. “ But (says Wishart) Sir Robert, having his mind intent upon higher matters, took no notice of them, and bore them with the greatest meekness and resignation. At last, with an undaunted air, and shewing no alteration either in voice or countenance, he submitted his neck to the fatal stroke, and uttered these his last words, ‘ Merciful Jesus ! gather my soul unto thy saints and martyrs who have run before me in this race.’ ” His remains were buried in the parish church of St Andrews by Hugh Scrimgeour, who had formerly been one of his father’s servants ; and who took this judicial murder so much to heart, that, seeing the bloody scaffold still standing some days afterwards, he fainted on the spot, and being carried home, died on the threshold of his own door.

of the remanent Inhabitants thereof, humbly sheweth :

“ That the foresaid cittie (by reason of the total decay of shipping and sea trade, and of the removal of the most eminent inhabitants thereof to live in the country, in respect they conceive themselves to be overburdened with assessments and quarterings) was accustomed to pay forty-three pounds sterling of assessment monthly, a sum which the petitioners are not able to pay ; nevertheless, Mr Glover, collector of the shyre of Fife, doth demand of the petitioners seven pounds more monthly, since the first of November last, a burden which the petitioners are not able to undergo, unless they disable themselves altogether of their livelihood and subsistence, which calls to your Honour for redress, considering their fall will occasion detriment to the commonwealth : And therefore, it is humbly petitioned that your Honour may be pleased to take the premises into consideration, and redress the samyne by discharging of the foresaid collector to exact any more from the petitioners, since the foresaid first of November last, but only their accustomed assessment of forty-three pounds sterling monthly ; and likewise, that it may please your Honour, in respect of the petitioners their debility, to give them such an ease of their assessment for the future as

your Honor shall conceive fit, and their low condition calls for."

(Signed) &c.

The General's laconic answer follows :—

" Dalkeith, 9th July 1655.

" In regard the warrants are issued forth for the months past, I cannot alter the samyne for the time past, onlie there is three pounds abated for Julie and August ; but before Julie next the collectors must receive according to their warrants.

(Signed) " GEORGE MONK."

Some idea may be had of the state of religious and moral feeling at this period, when it is known that Mr Samuel Rutherford was one of the most influential men of the times, and principal as well as professor of divinity in St Mary's College in this university. The common epithet he received from his contemporaries was, " that flower of the kirk, the famous Mr Samuel Rutherford." His " Letters," which were addressed to some of the leading persons in Scotland, both male and female, abound with the wildest opinions on theological and political subjects, and with the most

* See Grierson's St Andrews, p. 49.

irreverend and even indelicate language, when speaking of the Saviour of mankind.* The following brief extracts from two of them will give the reader some notion of their general contents. In one to Bathia Ard, he says, "At my first coming hither, Christ and I agreed not well upon it; but now he is content to kiss my black mouth, to put his hand in mine," &c. In another, to John Gordon of Gordonness, he tells him, "Many a sweet, sweet, soft kiss, many a perfumed and well-smelled kiss and embracement have I received of my royal master.—And now, whosoever they be that have returned to their old vomit (Episcopacy) since my departure, *I bind upon their backs, in my master's name and authority, the long, lasting, and weighty vengeance and curse of God. In the Lord's name I give them a doom of black and unmixed pure wrath, which my master shall ratify, except they timeously repent and turn to the Lord,*" that is, to Presbytery. It was surely some honour to Episcopacy to be abused in such language, and by such a man. We may, however, charitably hope that "he knew not what spirit he was of." Rutherford wrote a seditious book called *Lex Rex*, which, after the Restora-

* Yet strange to say, these letters are read and admired, even now, by a numerous class of Christians, and have lately been republished in numbers, and very extensively circulated!

tion, was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman, at the cross of Edinburgh, and at the gate of St Mary's College, St Andrews; and he would have been obliged himself to appear before Parliament on a charge of high treason, had not death prevented him. He lies buried in St Andrews churchyard, under a very plain, and indeed paltry, monumental stone, with some dog-grel rhymes, setting forth his extraordinary merits, or rather stating that no skill or tongue of men can do him sufficient justice.

What hand, what pen, or skill of men,
Can famous Rutherford commend, &c.*

We now resume the historical account of the Archbishops of St Andrews.

XLIX. JAMES SHARP. A.D. 1661-1679.

Sharp had been Presbyterian minister of Crail, and professor, first of philosophy at St Leonard's, and then of divinity at St Mary's College, St Andrews. He belonged to the party in the Presbyterian church known by the name of "Resolutioners," or moderate men, as opposed to the

* It is remarkable that Rutherford, and others of that school, have never had anything deserving the name of a monument raised to their memory by their numerous admirers.

“ Remonstrants,” those violent uncompromising Covenanters, who afterwards took up arms against the government, and would neither give nor accept toleration. When Cromwell came into Scotland, such was the high opinion entertained of Sharp by his party, that they deputed him to argue their cause before the conqueror, on whom he is said to have made a favourable impression. By his talents, and influence with General Monk, Sharp was instrumental in bringing about the restoration of Charles II., and that monarch, as a reward for his services, offered him the archbishoprick of St Andrews, on the re-establishment of Episcopacy, which he accepted. As episcopal ordination had been set aside, amidst the troubles arising out of the late civil contest, Sharp and Leighton (who was now made Bishop of Dunblane) were ordained, and then consecrated by three English bishops in Westminster Abbey, on the 15th December 1661. After his settlement at St Andrews, Sharp procured from the king a mortification of L.200 per annum to be paid to the university for ever, with which he augmented the professorships of Mathematics and Hebrew. By an act of the king, in June 1663, the two Scottish archbishops were made members of the Privy Council; and the year following, the primate had precedence given him over all the great officers of State in Scotland. In 1668, when

in Edinburgh, he was shot at by one James Mitchell, "a youth (says Wodrow) of much piety and zeal." The ball missed the archbishop, but wounded Honeyman, the Bishop of Orkney, who was beside him.* After an administration of eighteen years, Sharp was cruelly murdered on Magus Muir, near St Andrews, by a party of Covenanters, to whom he had made himself obnoxious by his opposition to their seditious designs. The following is Bishop Burnet's account of this inhuman deed, in his "History of his Own Times," Vol. I. p. 470.—"When a party of furious men were riding through a moor, near St Andrews, they saw the archbishop's coach appear. He was coming from a council, and was driving home. He had sent some of his servants home before him, to let them know he was coming; and others he had sent off on compliments; so that there were no horsemen about the coach. They, seeing this, concluded (according to their frantick, enthusiastic notions) that God had now delivered up their greatest enemy into their hands. Seven of them made up to the coach, while the rest were

* Wodrow remarks, "That people could not but observe the righteousness of Providence in disabling Bishop Honeyman's hand,"—because, it seems, it had some years before drawn up a testimony in favour of Presbyterianism! This author uniformly manages to visit with the judgments of Heaven, those whose opinions are opposed to his own.

as scouts riding all about the moor. One of them fired a pistol at him, which burnt his coat and gown, but did not go into his body. Upon this, they fancied he had a magical secret to secure him against a shot; and they drew him out of his coach and murdered him, barbarously repeating their strokes till they were sure he was quite dead. And so they got clear off, nobody happening to go across the moor all the while.”*

The remains of the archbishop were interred in the parish church of the city, where a beautiful marble monument was erected by his son to his memory. This monument is included in the modern church, which was built on the site of the former one, and is an object of great interest to strangers.†

* See Chap. xx. of this work.

† A sum of money was left for the continual repair of this structure, nearly the whole of which was expended in a foolish attempt to *paint* and *gild* the figures on the monument, and the rest of it in *effacing* what had been badly executed!

There is an engraving published from a painting by Allan, representing Sharp's murder. In the back-ground of the piece are two of the assassins searching among his papers, and particularly (as the key to the print states) “for a pardon granted by the king for nine persons that were executed, which the archbishop kept up.” This is one of the many “enormous lies” with which the primate's enemies have but too successfully blackened his memory. There is not a shadow of foundation for this charge. Even the story of the two archbishops having withheld the king's pardon from one Hugh M'Kell, in 1666, rests on no evi-

Sharp has been accused of betraying his party, the "Resolutioners," when he was deputed to represent them in London, after the Restoration. This is a charge which every one asserts, and every one believes, and yet no one has ever been able to prove it, or even to make it appear probable. I have examined all the printed accounts of the transaction in question, and have discovered no evidence against Sharp, beyond the bare assertion of his enemies. On the contrary, there is abundant proof that he faithfully represented his constituents, and used his best endeavours to effect their wishes and his own, down to August 1660;* in which month, his commission having ceased, he returned to Scotland, and received the public thanks of his brethren for what he had done. Next year, after the re-establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland had been determined on, the king sent for him to come to court, and then it was that he consented to adopt Episcopacy, to which he had long been favourably disposed, and to accept the Archbishoprick of St Andrews, for the duties of which he was eminently qualified. Nor

dence. This man was in the hands of the Justiciary Court, which sentenced him on a Tuesday to be hanged on the Friday following, and the archbishops had no power either to promote or prevent his execution.

* One part of his instructions was to entreat that no denomination of Christians might be tolerated in Scotland except their own.

was his a singular case. There were nine others of the most distinguished Presbyterian ministers of the "Resolution" party who became bishops of the Scottish Episcopal church, and many more who became presbyters of that church. See "A true and impartial Account of the Life of Archbishop Sharp," (1723,) where, among other documents, full copies are given of the letters which Sharp wrote to his party from London, and which differ considerably from the garbled extracts which Wodrow gives of the same letters. It is also there shown that the primate's murder had been long premeditated by the Covenanters, and did not arise from the impulse of the moment, as has been commonly asserted.

This primate was an object of peculiar hatred to the Covenanters. Their leading writers bestow upon him the most opprobrious epithets. Indeed, they never mention a Scotch bishop without some term of execration. Even the mild and pious Leighton does not escape their obloquy, and for whom Wodrow can find no higher praise than that "he was *reckoned* devout, and an enemy to persecution, and *professed* great meekness and humility!" But not only were the bishops void of all moral worth—they were actual wizzards, cloven-footed, and had no shadows! It was said that in Sharp's pocket, after his murder, were found two pistol bullets, a ball of coloured

silk, and a piece of parchment with some Hebrew characters, which the fanatics considered as undoubted magical charms, and proofs of his dealings with the devil !*

The archbishop, not anticipating the overthrow of an established Episcopacy, presented to the parish church of St Andrews, a few years before his death, a massy silver baptismal basin and cup, which are still used in that church on all occasions of public baptism.

I will conclude this account of Sharp with the character of the Covenanters, as drawn by Mr Robert Law, an indulged Presbyterian minister of that period, and an enemy to Episcopacy. " These ministers that stirred up the people, pretended they were the only pure and sound Pres-

* The following anagram is a specimen of the manner in which the primate's enemies were in the practice of vilifying his name and character.

- I Infamous jugler, insolent.
- A Ambitious and arrogant.
- M Monstrous malapert madman.
- E Erroneous Erastian.
- S Saucie, selfish, simonaiik.
- S Servile, saul-seller, stigmatik.
- H Hell's hound, hideous hierarchist.
- A Abominable arch-atheist.
- R Railling ruffian, runagat.
- P Perfidious perjured prelat.

They acted upon Machiavelli's politic maxim, "*calumniare audaciter, aliquid adhærebit.*"

byterians in the land, with those that followed them: and all others, ministers and people, whether indulged or not indulged, that did not follow their way, were apostates and backsliders from the truth, and this they stood not on to preach and say; *whereas there was never any among the prelates pretended to more authority, and practised more prelatick practises than these did*: for they disowned the Presbyterian church of Scotland, run upon ministers' charges at will, made rents and divisions among the people, and made it their work to separat them from their ministers and congregationall assemblies, and gloried when their principles took any footing in the land; and, indeed, they gained upon the unsolid and unstable professors more than could have been expected." See the said Mr Law's "Memorials," p. 156.*

* I have one more observation to make on Sharp's episcopate. The established clergy at that time used no liturgy, and wore no distinguishing dress in their public services; so that a stranger, going accidentally into a place of worship, could not have told whether it were Presbyterian or Episcopal. Sharp's biographer records of him, that "he was far from being an enemy to the decent and excellent liturgy of the Church of England, but he did not think it seasonable to introduce it, before affairs should come to a greater ripeness and disposition." Such being the case, Episcopacy could scarcely have been felt as a grievance by reflecting men of *any* party; and, therefore, the opposition to it, on the part of the Covenanters, could only arise from a spirit of faction or fanaticism.

L. ALEXANDER BURNET. A.D. 1679-1684.

Burnet had had a rectory in England, from which he was ejected by the Puritans in 1650. After this, he went abroad, and was fortunate enough to be of some service to Charles II. in procuring private intelligence for him from England. For this, and through some interest he had besides, he was made Bishop of Aberdeen in 1662; the year following, he was translated to Glasgow; and, after Sharp's murder, to St Andrews. When in the see of Glasgow, he acted with great forbearance towards the captive Covenanters, and complained to the king of the Duke of Lauderdale's unnecessary severity to them: for which interference, Lauderdale, who was secretary for Scotland, obliged him to quit his bishoprick, and, by misrepresenting his conduct to the king, contrived to keep him out of it for five years.*

* Keith's Catalogue, See of Glasgow. Lauderdale was a Presbyterian, and almost as great an enemy to the Episcopalians as he was to the Covenanters. It has even been alleged, and with some appearance of truth, that one of the reasons of his extreme cruelty to the latter was to excite popular odium against the former. If such were his object, he certainly succeeded. His speech to Sharp, when he learnt he was to be Archbishop of St Andrews, is well known: "Mr Sharp, (he said,) bishops you are to have in Scotland, and you, I hear, are to be Archbishop of St Andrews; but whoever shall be the man, by G—— I will smite him and his order under the fifth rib;" and he was as good as his word.

Burnet died at St Andrews, and was buried in St Salvator's College church, near the tomb of Bishop Kennedy.

L.I. ARTHUR ROSS. A.D. 1684-1688.

This last Archbishop of St Andrews had possessed the sees of Argyle, Galloway, and Glasgow in succession, before being translated to the primacy. I have not been able to learn any particulars of him; but Bishop Gilbert Burnet (whose testimony concerning his contemporaries is not always to be depended upon) says of him, that he was "a poor, ignorant, worthless man; but in whom obedience and fury were so eminent, that they supplied all other defects." He remained at St Andrews till the Revolution, which put an end to an established Episcopacy in Scotland. The Scottish bishops refused to take the oath of allegiance to William III., because they could not in conscience do so, after the one which they had taken to James VII. This oath had been as follows:—"I do promise to be true and faithful to the *king and his heirs*; and truth and faith to bear of life and limb, and terrene honour, and not to know or hear of any ill or damage intended him, without defending him therefrom." William, because the Scottish bishops would not violate this oath by transferring their allegiance to him, refused to acknowledge them as his established

clergy, and extended his favour and patronage to the Presbyterians. At the same time it is right to add, that the act for abolishing Episcopacy in Scotland (dated 22d July 1689) assigns this singular reason for the change, that “the superiority of any office in the church above presbyters is *contrary to the inclination of the generality of the people*!”*

Thus Episcopacy was superseded by Presbyterianism, which continues to be the established religion of Scotland. The Episcopal church, of course, still exists, though unestablished and unendowed. It is divided into six dioceses; but as St Andrews is not one of them, the line of its prelates necessarily terminates here.

* This was surely an unguarded admission; for if “the inclination of the generality” be a sound principle of action, Popery ought to be the established religion of Ireland. But Truth is the same in all nations, and in all ages; and Christian Kings, who are the vicegerents of God, are responsible to HIM, and not to “the people,” for their conduct. The one is a uniform, the other a most uncertain rule of procedure.

CHAPTER VIII.

**TEMPORALITIES OF THE ARCHBISHOP—HIS THREE REGALITIES—
RANK AND TITLES—PALACES—PRIVILEGES—PATRONAGE—
REVENUE—CONSISTORIAL COURT—OTHER ECCLESIASTICAL PRO-
PERTY IN ST ANDREWS.**

THE Archbishops of St Andrews, independent of their being primates of all Scotland, and exercising an immediate ecclesiastical jurisdiction over eight dioceses, were lords of regality over three extensive districts in Scotland. The first and smallest of these was Monymusk in Aberdeenshire, of which the Marquis of Huntly was hereditary bailie, and who paid to the see an annual feu-duty of L.300 Scots. The second was Kirkliston in Linlithgowshire, which comprehended the four counties of Linlithgow, Stirling, Edinburgh, and Haddington, and of which the Earls of Winton were hereditary bailies. The third was St Andrews in Fife, which included the

counties of Fife, Perth, Forfar, and Kincardine, and of which the Learmonth of Dairsy, and latterly the Earls of Crawford, were bailies. By a tax-roll of 1665, it appears that one marquis, fifteen earls, three viscounts, and five barons, besides many persons of inferior rank, held lands of the Archbishop of St Andrews; nor was there any subject in Scotland who had the superiority of more land than he had. This dignitary, moreover, ranked next to the Royal Family in Scotland, and, consequently, not only above all the spiritual, but all the temporal peers of the realm. His proper titles were, Lord of the Lordship and Priory of St Andrews; Lord Keig and Monymusk; Lord Byrehills and Polduff; Lord Kirkliston; Lord Bishopshyre; Lord Muckhartshire; Lord Scotscraige; Lord Stow; Lord Monymail; Lord Dairsy; Lord Angus; Lord Tynninghame; Lord Little Preston. He had palaces at Stow, Linlithgow, Kinghorn, and Monymail; and houses of residence of an inferior description at Torrie, Dairsy, Inchmurtach, Muckhart, Kittins, Linton, and Monymusk. Within his own above-mentioned regalities, the archbishop was supreme judge in almost all civil and criminal cases; he enjoyed the right to coin money, to levy custom-house duties, and to appropriate all forfeited property to his own use. He was perpetual moderator of national synods, chancellor of the univer-

sity of St Andrews, and patron of 131 benefices. In the city of St Andrews, his court sat three times in the year, and every burghess was obliged to take an oath of allegiance to him as well as to the king.

As to the revenues of the see, it is not easy to determine them with accuracy, as they arose from various sources, and differed considerably at different times. Several of the prelates, besides, alienated a great part of their revenues for particular purposes, as for founding and endowing the two monasteries in St Andrews, and that of Scotland Well, Loch Leven, St Mary's and St Salvador's Colleges, and latterly for erecting Edinburgh into a separate bishoprick; not to mention what was subtracted from the see at the Reformation by the aristocracy, and was only in part restored on the re-establishment of Episcopacy.

In 1561, Archbishop Hamilton, by an order of the Privy Council, gave in a return of the revenues of the see at about L.3000 per annum in money, and nearly as much more in grain, which, though considerably more than that sum in sterling money of the present time, was probably below its real value even then, and certainly much below what it had been previous to the alienations referred to.

Since the Revolution, the crown has drawn all the rents, and exercised all the civil rights and

ecclesiastical patronage, which previously belonged to the archbishoprick; and the same remark is equally true of the other Scottish dioceses. As, moreover, the bishops had exercised the sole jurisdiction in all causes, which were considered purely ecclesiastical, such as probates of will, marriage, divorce, alimony, and adultery, scandal and defamation, perjury, &c., government, after the Reformation, appointed a commissary or consistorial court in each diocese, in lieu of the bishop's court; and of these there was one in St Andrews.* They existed till within a few years ago, but are now merged partly in the Sheriffs' Courts, and partly in the Court of Session.

The return of the rental of the priory in 1561 exhibited a larger revenue than that of the archbishoprick, being about L.2200 in money, and nearly L.8000 in grain. This revenue, after the Reformation, fell successively into the hands of such of the aristocracy as had influence enough to obtain a grant of it from the ruling authorities. In 1633, it was possessed by the Duke of Lennox, from whom (as we have seen, p. 118,) Charles I. purchased it, and bestowed it upon the primacy. At the Revolution it passed, in common with all

* I have a cast of the seal of this court in Queen Mary's reign, 1565. It has upon it the crown and thistle, and the initials M. R., and the inscription, S. OFFICII COMMISSARIATUS STI. ANDREE.

other diocesan property, into the possession of the crown.*

The ground on which the Dominican monastery stood in South Street became the property of Lord Seaton at the Reformation, but is now, through the munificence of the late Rev. Dr Bell, the site of the Madras College. The Franciscan property in Market Street was made over to the Town of St Andrews by a grant of Queen Mary, a few years after the Reformation, as were also the revenues of the chaplains and choristers of the parish church.†

The provostry of Kirkheuch was incorporated with the archdeaconry of St Andrews, in the year 1621, and both transferred at the Revolution to the Presbyterian ministers of the parish church.

* The Regent Murray, the last Prior of St Andrews, sold a large proportion of the priory lands, but retained his right to the teinds. These teinds, owing to the changes mentioned above, are now the property of the crown, whose lessee still draws the greater part of them *in kind*. I believe there is no other instance in Scotland in which this ancient practice is kept up.

† See next chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

STATE OF ST ANDREWS BEFORE AND AT THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION—ALTARAGES IN THE PARISH CHURCH—EXTENT AND POPULATION OF THE CITY—OLD PLANS REMAINING—SWALLOW-GATE—HARBOUR—RELIGIOUS HOUSES—MANNER IN WHICH THE CANONS OF THE PRIORY PASSED THEIR TIME—STATUTES OF ST LEONARD'S COLLEGE—LINDSAY OF PITSCOTTIE'S ACCOUNT OF THE ARRIVAL AND MARRIAGE OF MARY OF LOBBRAINE AT THE CITY IN 1538—MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS IN ST ANDREWS IN 1563 AND 1564.

THERE were thirty chapels or altarages in the parish church, each of which was endowed, and had at least one chaplain belonging to it, whose duty appears to have been to celebrate *obits* for the repose of the souls of deceased persons who had bequeathed money for this purpose. The following are merely a few gleanings on this subject, which I have collected from some copies of charters in the possession of the town of St Andrews. They relate to a period of about 150 years immediately pre-

vious to the Reformation. In the said documents there is mention made of—

Sir A. Menzies, Chaplain of the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Sir Walter Mar, do. of St Katherine.

Sir Alex. Swinton, do. of Holy Cross.

Sir James Brand, do. of St Lawrence.

Sir John Peables, do. of St John Baptist.

Sir David Ruglying, do. of St Bartholomew.

Sir Thos. Simpson, do. of St James, &c.

There were also the chapels and altars of All Saints, of St Phullan the abbot, of St Duchatt, of St Mary Magdalene, of St Barbara the martyr, of the Blessed Mary of Piety, of St Michael the archangel, of St Ferguson, of St Ninian, of Holy Blood, of St Nicholas, of St Anne, and of St Peter.

There were also fifteen choristers attached to the parish church, who appear to have been an incorporated body, and had a seal of their own, of which we have an impression with this inscription, S. COME. CHORISTARU. ECLIE. TRINITATIS. SCI. ANDREE. The whole of the property belonging to those chaplains and choristers was transferred to the town of St Andrews, by an act of Queen Mary, soon after the Reformation. There must doubtless also have been altarages and choristers belonging to the cathedral, but we have no means of determining this, all the charters con-

K

nected with the various kinds of cathedral property having been long since lost or destroyed.*

Among the proprietors and residents in the city before the Reformation, we read of Lord Lindsay of Byres; Sir Alexander Young, Canon of St Andrews, and Principal of St Leonard's College; Gavin Dunbar, Archdeacon of St Andrews;† Sir James Preston, Vicar of the parish church; Sir James Wemyss, Canon regular of the metropolitan church; Sir William Myreton, "founder of the College of Craill, and prebendary thereof;" Sir John Myreton, Archdeacon of Aberdeen; the Bishop of Moray; the Abbots of Scone and Lindores; Sir John Brown; Sir John Cook; Sir George Young; and a great many more church dignitaries.

At the period referred to, the city, judging from old plans which remain, was not of much greater extent than it is at present, but it undoubtedly was far more densely inhabited. Its population has

* The Chartulary of the priory of St Andrews, which has been preserved in the library of Brechin Castle since the Reformation, is at present being printed for the Bannatyne Club, at the expense of Tyndal Bruce, Esq. This volume consists of copies of all the charters and papal bulls deposited in the priory from a very early period, and from which much information interesting to the antiquary will doubtless be gleaned.

† The arms and initials of this ecclesiastic may still be seen over the gate of the house at the west end of the cemetery. He afterwards became Bishop of Aberdeen.

been estimated at from 12,000 to 15,000. It is certain, at any rate, that Perth, Aberdeen, and St Andrews, were then the three most populous towns in Scotland. It has been generally asserted, on the authority of tradition, that what is now called the Scores (then Swallowgate) was an inhabited street; but my plans of the city (one of which is of 1642, and the other of an older though uncertain date) represent the Scores without a single house in it; and as lying, moreover, outside the Swallow Port, which was situated a very little to the west of the castle. On the other hand, it has been said that the harbour and roadstead were frequented, on some occasions, by upwards of a hundred vessels at a time; and this derives confirmation from the great number of vessels which are represented, both in the harbour and in the offing, in the oldest of the two plans referred to.*

* This plan *professes* to give a view of the city before the Reformation, and represents the cathedral and monasteries as *entire*; and certainly it is a curious and interesting document; but there are so many discrepancies, and palpable inaccuracies about it, which it is needless here to specify, that I am inclined to believe it was drawn by one who supplied many objects from his own imagination which he never had an opportunity of seeing.

While I am on the subject of old plans, I may mention that one Slezer, a German, published, in 1697, a work entitled *Theatrum Scotiæ*, containing a view of the town of St Andrews, another of the ruins of the cathe-

It has indeed occasioned surprise that so great a number could lie in the harbour, which is small, or in the roadstead, which, though the anchorage is good, is very dangerous during an eastern gale. But it should be considered that the vessels themselves were probably small; and that if they could not be all accommodated in the harbour, and were afraid of the east wind, they could find ample space and shelter in the adjacent estuary of the Eden.

Lastly, we are to observe, that, at the period under consideration, the castle, the cathedral, and the church of St Regulus, were entire; the first of which must have contained, not only the archbishop and his chaplains, but a garrison of soldiers, and a numerous train of domestics. The priory, the provostry of Kirkheugh, the College of St Leonard's, the monasteries of Black and Grey Friars, were also entire, with their various appendages; and contained within their precincts a greater or lesser number of regular or secular ecclesiastics, with their subordinate officers and dependants. The priory alone contained thirty-four canons; and the parish church, as we have seen, could boast of fifteen choristers, and upwards of thirty chaplains.

dral, and a third of the castle, as they then existed. The work has now become scarce and expensive.

It may not be out of place to give here some account of the manner in which the canons of the order of St Augustine, and of course those of the priory of St Andrews, usually passed their time.

I may premise, that these canons wore a white robe with a rochet of fine linen above, and an almuce (*lamutium*) hanging as far down as the ground. This almuce was of fine black or grey skin brought from abroad, and frequently lined with ermine; and serves to this day to distinguish the canons regular from the other religious orders.

Their hour of rising in the morning was different, according to the different seasons of the year, and the festivals or fasts that were to be solemnized: but the usual time appears to have been about half-past one, so as to be ready in the choir by two, to begin the night office called the *Nocturnæ vigiliæ*. This office, together with that of the *Matutinæ laudes*, were performed together, and took up about two hours. There was then an interval of an hour, during which the monks were at liberty to repose. At five o'clock began the service called *Prime*; at the end of which, the community went in procession to the chapter-house, where the superior addressed to them suitable instructions and exhortations as circumstances might require. This being finished, they proceeded again to the church to assist at what was called the *Capitular mass*. There was then a vacant

space which was employed in manual labour or in study. At eight o'clock, they again met in the choir to perform the office called *Terce*, which was followed by the high mass, and that again by the *Sext*. These services lasted till near ten o'clock, at which time, when it was not a fasting day, they proceeded to the refectory to dine. Here the prior presided, having on his right hand his invited guests, and the sub-prior on his left. The monks were ranged at tables placed round the refectory, according to their offices and seniority. On one side was the reader's pulpit; for devout reading or chanting was continued during the whole time of the refecton; except on certain days of recreation, when freedom of conversation was granted by the superior. The monks waited on one another at table by weekly turns; and on some occasions the prior and sub-prior themselves performed this humble office. After dinner they returned processionally to the church, in order to say their solemn grace. There was now an interval of an hour or an hour and a half, during part of which, those who were fatigued were at liberty to take some repose. Others employed this time in walking and conversing, excepting on those days when a general silence was enjoined. At one o'clock, the office called *None* was sung in the choir, as were vespers at three. At five, they met again in the refectory, to partake of a slender supper,

consisting chiefly of what was saved out of the forenoon meal; except on fasting days, when nothing, or next to nothing, was allowed to be taken. The intermediate spaces were occupied with reading, or with manual labour, which frequently consisted in transcribing books, or in chiselling delicate architectural ornaments for their church and monastery. After the evening refecton, the office called *Complin* was performed, which lasted till near seven o'clock; when all retired to the dormitory, which was a long gallery joining the south transept of the cathedral, and containing thirty-four beds, separated from each other by thin boards or curtains. On these the canons took their rest, frequently without undressing.

I shall only add, concerning these canons, that, after the Reformation, fourteen of them turned readers or preachers in certain churches belonging to their priory, and the rest remained about the priory buildings and St Leonard's College till their death. It is well known that both the prior (Lord James Stewart) and sub-prior (Winram) were among the earliest of the Reformers. The character of the latter, however, was not such as to do honour to any party: and, as to the prior, (who had been elevated to his dignity when he was only seven years old, and was never in holy orders!) whatever might be his motives in becoming a Reformer, he certainly contrived to turn

the circumstance greatly to his worldly advantage, and often masked his selfish projects under zeal for religion.

The two following extracts from a visitation ordered to be made of St Leonard's College, immediately previous to the Reformation, may be thought curious :—“ *Item*, it is ascertained that the use of the Latin tongue is decreasing in the college, in contempt of the statutes, which require that every one shall use the said tongue, except the cook and his boy. The visitors therefore command that, except these, no one shall speak the vernacular language, but that all shall speak Latin, and more especially at table. If any of the students act otherwise, let them be punished with stripes, either by the head master, or by their own regent : but, if any of the regents or chaplains transgress in this respect, let them be fined by the master.”—“ *Item*, let the curate be lodged in the room next the outer door of the college, that he may be able to hear the parishioners when they apply for the administration of the sacraments.” (To understand this, we must remember there are seven sacraments in the Romish Church.)

The following account of the arrival at St Andrews of Mary of Lorraine, the affianced bride of James V., will throw some farther light on the state of the city before the Reformation.

“The queen landed in Scotland, at a place called Fifeness, near Balcomy, where she remained till horse came to her. But the king was in St Andrews, waiting upon her home-coming. Then he, seeing that she was landed in such a part, rode forth himself to meet her, with the whole lords, spiritual and temporal, with many barons, lairlds, and gentlemen, who were convened for the time at St Andrews in their best array ; and received the queen with great honours, and plays made to her. And first, she was received at the New Abbey gate ;* upon the east side whereof was made to her a triumphant arch by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, lyon-herald, which caused a great cloud come out of the heavens above the gate, and open instantly, and there appeared a fair lady, most like an angel, having the keys of Scotland in her hands, and delivered them to the queen, in sign and token that all the hearts of Scotland were open to receive her grace ; with certain orations and exhortations made by the said Sir David Lindsay to the queen, instructing her to serve her God, obey her husband, and keep her body clean, according to God’s will and commandments.

“This being done, the queen was received into her palace, which was called the New Inn,† which

* Probably the gate in the abbey wall near the turnpike: it is now built up, but its outline is easily seen.

† This was the *Novum Hospitium*, one of the priory

was well decored against his coming. Also the bishops, abbots, priors, monks, friars, and canons regular, made great solemnity in the kirk with masses, songs, and playing of the organs. The king received the queen in his palace to dinner, where was great mirth all day till time of supper.

“On the morn, the queen passed through the town. She saw the black-friars, the grey-friars, the old college and the new college, and St Leonard’s; she saw the provost of the town, and honest burgesses. But, when the queen came to her palace and met with the king, she confessed unto him that she never saw in France, nor in no other country, so many good faces in so little room, as she saw that day in Scotland. For she said, it was shown unto her in France that Scotland was but a barbarous country, destitute and void of all good commodities that used to be in other countries; but now she confessed she saw the contrary; for she never saw so many fair personages of men, women, young babes and children, as she saw that day. At thir words of the queen, the king greatly rejoiced, and said to

buildings, on the right hand of the road leading from the Pends to the shore. The gateway is still standing, surmounted with the Royal Arms of Scotland, and those of the priory. There is an empty square for a third shield, which was probably intended for that of the archbishop. This building was the residence of Archbishops Spotswood and Sharp, and was demolished only about thirty years ago.

her, ‘ Forsooth, madam, you shall see better, please God ; ere ycu go through Scotland, you shall see many good-like men and women, and other commodities that will be to your contentment.’ Then the king remained in St Andrews the space of forty days, with great merri-ness and game, as jesting, running at the lists, archery, hunting, hawking, with singing, and dancing in maskery, and playing, and all other princely game, according to a king and a queen. And, hereafter, the king departed out of St Andrews to Cowper of Fyfe, and dined there ; and syne passed to Falkland, and remained there a while, in hunting of the fallow-deer, seven or eight days. Syne past to Stirling,”* &c.

Having given this long account of the arrival and marriage of the *mother* at St Andrews, I will finish the chapter with mentioning what we know of the *daughter* having been here, the unfortunate and much injured Mary Queen of Scots. We find her in the city in February 1563, at which time she was only twenty-one years of age. When at Burntisland, on her way to the place, a singular incident occurred. An enthusiastic French poet, named Chatelard, belonging to her suite, obtruded himself into her bed-room, and presented himself before her ! It was the second

* Lindsay's History of Scotland, p. 249.

time he had been guilty of this treasonable offence, and Mary now determined to make a public example of him. Accordingly, he was seized and conveyed to St Andrews; to which place the chancellor, justice-clerk, and other counsellors, were brought from Edinburgh to sit upon his trial. He was condemned to lose his life, and was executed in this city. Here Mary remained till May following, riding about the adjacent parts of Fife, and amusing herself with the pastimes of the country. Early next year she returned to St Andrews, where Randolph, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador, waited upon her. The following extracts from the ambassador's letter to Elizabeth may give us some idea of Mary's simple mode of life while in this city, and the innocent playfulness of her disposition. "*Her grace lodged in a merchant's house; her train were very few, and there was small repair from any part. Her will was, that for the time that I did stay, I should dine and sup with her. Your majesty was oftentimes drunk unto by her at dinners and suppers—very merrily she passeth her time; after dinner she rideth abroad. It pleaseth her the most part of the time to talk with me.*" When Randolph introduced the subject of his embassy, which was Mary's own marriage to the Earl of Leicester, he thus describes the way in which she received it: "I had no sooner spoken these words but she

saith, I see now well that you are weary of this company and treatment. I sent for you to be merry, and to see how like a *bourgeois* wife I live with my little troop; and you will interrupt our pastime with your grave and great matters! I pray you, Sir, if you be weary here, return to Edinburgh, and keep your gravity until the *queen* come thither; for I assure you, you shall not get her here, nor do I know myself what is become of her: you see neither cloth of state, nor such appearance, that you may think there is a queen here; nor would I have you think that I am she at St Andrews that I was at Edinburgh," &c. Soon after this, poor Mary proceeded to Wemyss Castle, where she met Darnley for the first time, her marriage to whom was the beginning of those misfortunes which ended only with her existence. See Chalmers' Life of Mary, Vol. II. sect. 5.

CHAPTER X.

BOSWELL'S ACCOUNT OF DR SAMUEL JOHNSON'S VISIT TO ST ANDREWS—DR JOHNSON'S OWN ACCOUNT OF THE SAME.

BOSWELL'S ACCOUNT.—“1773.—We had a dreary drive in a dusky night to St Andrews. We found a good supper at Glass's Inn, and Dr Johnson revived agreeably. After supper we made a procession to St Leonard's College, the landlord walking before us with a candle, and the waiter with a lantern. That college had some time before been dissolved; and Dr Watson, a professor here, (the historian of Philip II.) had purchased the ground, and what buildings remained. When we entered his court, it seemed quite academical; and we found in his house very comfortable and genteel accommodations.

“Dr Johnson's veneration for the hierarchy is well known. There is no wonder then that he was affected with a strong indignation, when he

beheld the ruins of religious magnificence. I happened to ask where John Knox was buried? Dr Johnson burst out, ‘I hope in the highway; I have been looking at his reformations.’” [It is a little odd, (says Chambers, in a note on this passage,) that Knox *was* buried in a place which soon after became, and ever since has been, a highway, namely, the old church-yard of St Giles, Edinburgh, which is now a paved street.*]

“We went out and looked at the castle, where Cardinal Beaton was murdered, and then visited Principal Morrison at his college, where is a good library room; but the principal was abundantly vain of it, for he seriously said to Dr Johnson, ‘You have not such a one in England!’†

“The professors entertained us with a very good dinner;—present, Morrison, Shaw, Cook, Hill, Haddo, Watson, Flint, Brown.

* Pennant, in his “Tour through Scotland,” speaking of St Andrews, says, “A foreigner, ignorant of the history of this country, would naturally inquire, what calamity has this city undergone? Has it suffered a bombardment from some barbarous enemy? Has it, like Lisbon, felt the more inevitable fury of an earthquake? But how great is his horror in reflecting that this destruction was owing to the more barbarous zeal of a minister, who, by his discourses, first inflamed, and then permitted, a furious crowd to overthrow edifices dedicated to that Being he pretended to honour by their ruin?”

† Each of the three divisions of the Bodleian Library, in Oxford, is more than twice as long as the room here referred to.

“I was much pleased to see Dr Johnson actually in St Andrews, of which we had talked so long. Professor Haddo was with us this afternoon, along with Dr Watson. We looked at St Salvator's College. The rooms for students seemed very commodious; and Dr Johnson said, the chapel was the neatest place of worship he had seen. The key of the library could not be found; for it seems Professor Hill, who was out of town, had taken it with him. Dr Johnson told a joke he had heard of a monastery abroad, where the key of the library could *never* be found.

“It was somewhat dispiriting to see this ancient archiepiscopal city now sadly deserted. We saw, in one of its streets, a remarkable proof of liberal toleration—a non-juring clergyman strutting about in his canonicals, with a jolly countenance, and a round belly like a well-fed monk.*

* This must have been the Rev. Mr Lindsay, Episcopal and Non-juring minister here at that time. I have heard my excellent friend Bishop Low tell the following anecdote of this gentleman. One day he was walking in the cloisters of St Salvator's College, when a professor came up to him and said, “Don't you think, Mr Lindsay, that we are very indulgent in allowing you, an Episcopalian, and a Non-juror, to walk up and down here at your pleasure? You would not have been so kind to us, had you got the upper hand: you would have been for hanging us all.” “No, (replied Mr Lindsay,) I would not have been for hanging you, but I might, perhaps, have thought you would have been very well employed in planting tobacco in Virginia,”—alluding to the practice which had till then

“ We observed two occupations united in the same person, who had hung out two sign posts. Upon one was, ‘James Wood, White Iron Smith,’ (*i.e.* Tin-Plate Worker;) upon another, ‘The Art of Fencing taught by James Wood.’ Upon this last were painted some trees and two men fencing, one of whom had hit the other in the eye, to show his great dexterity.

“ We went and saw Colonel Nairne’s garden; and here was a fine old plane tree.* Unluckily the colonel said there was but this and another large tree in the country, (namely, the one at Prior Letham, near St Andrews.) This assertion was an excellent cue for Dr Johnson, who laughed enormously, calling me to hear it. He then expatiated to me on the nakedness of that part of Scotland which he had seen.”

DR JOHNSON’S OWN ACCOUNT OF ST ANDREWS.

“ The city of St Andrews, when it lost its archiepiscopal pre-eminence, gradually decayed: one of its streets is now lost; and in those that remain,

been frequent, of sending prisoners of war to work as slaves in our West India or American settlements. Thus Cromwell treated several thousands of the Scotch Covenanters, whom he took prisoners at the battle of Dunbar.

• This tree stood in the garden belonging to the late Mr Binny, at the east end of South Street.

there is the silence and solitude of inactive indigence, and gloomy depopulation.

“ The university, within a few years, consisted of three colleges, but is now reduced to two ; the college of St Leonard’s being lately dissolved, by the sale of its buildings, and the appropriation of its revenues to the professors of the other two. The chapel of the alienated college is still standing, a fabric not inelegant of external structure ;* but I was always, by some civil excuse, hindered from entering it. It is something that its present state is, at least, not ostentatiously displayed. Where there is shame, there may in time be virtue.

“ The destruction of St Leonard’s College was doubtless necessary ; but of that necessity there is reason to complain. It is surely not without just reproach that a nation, of which the commerce is hourly extending, and the wealth increasing, denies any participation of its prosperity to its literary societies ; and while its merchants and its nobles are raising palaces, suffers its universities to moulder into dust.

• The Doctor’s sentence is more elegant than the structure. At that time, however, the spire, which is said to have been a very neat one, was not perhaps taken down, nor the windows built up. In a letter to Mrs Thrale, Johnson says that an experiment had been tried of planting a shrubbery in the area of this chapel, but that it failed.

“ Having now seen whatever this ancient city offered to our curiosity, we left it with good wishes ; having reason to be highly pleased with the attention that was paid us. But whoever surveys the world must see many things which give him pain. The kindness of the professors did not contribute to abate the uneasy remembrance of a university declining, a college alienated, and a church profaned, and fast hastening to the ground.”

The Doctor, in writing to Mrs Thrale on the same subject, makes this farther observation :—
“ Why the place should thus fall to decay, I know not ; for education, such as is here to be had, is sufficiently cheap. Their term, or, as they call it, their session, lasts seven months in the year, which the students of the highest rank and greatest expense may have for L.20, in which are included board, lodging, books, and the continual instruction of three professors.”

CHAPTER XI.

UNIVERSITY—ITS CONSTITUTION—LIBRARY—LIST OF CHANCELLORS
—CURRICULUM OF STUDY—DEGREES—DISTINGUISHED MEN CON-
NECTED WITH THE UNIVERSITY—ONCE PROPOSED TO REMOVE IT
TO PERTH—CURIOUS REASONS ASSIGNED FOR THIS—UNIVERSITY
ARMS—UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS—VISITATIONS.

FOR an account of the origin of this the oldest of the Scottish universities, see p. 66. Though the number of students now scarcely exceeds one hundred and fifty,* in former times it was very considerable, and included many foreigners. Being looked upon in the light of a great public school, it was resorted to at a very early age. The biographer of the Admirable Crichton relates, as no unusual circumstance, that that accomplished youth entered at St Salvator's College (in 1570) when he was ten years old, and took his degree in arts when he was fourteen. At that time the university consisted of three colleges, and continued to do so down to the year 1747, when,

* The number for the last ten years presents an average of about 200 students.

owing to a diminution of revenue, (see Chap. XIII.) two of them were obliged to be united, and it now therefore consists of two only, namely, St Mary's for divinity, and the united college of St Salvator's and St Leonard's for philosophy and the classics. The principals and the professors of the two colleges constitute one *Senatus Academicus* for the purpose of conferring degrees, and for electing a chancellor, a rector, and a medical professor. The rector is president of the *Senatus*, and is chosen annually by the professors and students of the university; but by the statutes, their choice is limited to the three divinity professors and the principal of the united college. Attempts, however, are at present being made by the students to have this restriction removed.

The two colleges have one library in common, out of which the inhabitants of the town are liberally supplied with books on the recommendation of a professor. Until last year, this university, in common with those of Great Britain and Ireland, was entitled to a copy of every new publication which proceeded from the press; but government have now, in the case of St Andrews, commuted this right into an annual grant of L.630, paid out of the consolidated fund—a sum which, if judiciously expended, will soon make the library very valuable and extensive; and will be more than an equivalent for their lost privilege, which was re-

luctantly and irregularly conceded by the publishers, and often yielded very worthless productions. The library at present contains upwards of 35,000 volumes. The most remarkable works in it are, a highly finished illuminated Roman missal, the copy of the Khoran which belonged to Tippoo Saib, an old MS. copy of Winton's Chronicle, a copy of Juvenal printed at Venice in 1475, Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism in black letter, printed at St Andrews in 1552, and a copy of a large work on the ruins of Herculaneum, with numerous engravings, presented to the university by the King of Naples.

Down to the era of the Revolution, the Archbishop of St Andrews was *ex officio* Chancellor of the University. Since that time, the following laymen have successively filled that office—Earl of Tullibardine, Duke of Chandos, Duke of Cumberland, Earl of Kinnoul, H. Dundas, Esq., Duke of Cambridge. The present chancellor is Viscount Melville. The Earl of Montrose and John Lindsay, Esq., of Balcarras, were chancellors during the interregnum which followed the death of Adamson; but who were chancellors in the time of the Grand Rebellion, I have not been able to ascertain. Most likely there was none; for the Covenanters, it is well known, were no friends to learning, and looked upon the conferring of degrees as one of the relics of Popery. The arms

of the chancellors, from Bishop Wardlaw downwards, are cut in stone, in chronological order, on the side of the University Library facing South Street.

The established *curriculum* for students at the university is, four sessions at the United College; and, if they be designed for the church, four more at St Mary's. But if the divinity students prefer it, they may reside only three years, and enrol for one; or they may reside two years, and enrol for three; or they may reside only one year, and enrol for five. This arrangement seems contrary to the original design of a college education; but it is made, I presume, for the convenience of tutors and schoolmasters who are desirous of entering the church, and are unable to be long absent from their vocations.

A degree in arts may be obtained on completing the above mentioned period at the United College, by those who are prepared to undergo an examination, which of late years has become much more strict than it used to be. The proportion of those who take degrees is, however, small.

Degrees in medicine and surgery are conferred by the *Senatus Academicus* twice in the year, but not until after a very strict examination, conducted by the medical professor of the university, in conjunction with certain distinguished mem-

bers of the profession, being resident Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians or Surgeons in London, Edinburgh, or Dublin. Every candidate for these degrees must communicate, either personally or by letter, with the medical professor, fourteen days before the stated period of examination, and furnish certificates of the hospitals he has visited, and the lectures he has attended.

The following, in chronological order, are the names of the most eminent men who have been educated at, or connected with, this university, omitting the archbishops, its chancellors, who are elsewhere spoken of:—John Major, Sir David Lindsay, John Rutherford, Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, George Buchanan, John Knox, the Admirable Crichton, Patrick Simpson, John Johnson, Andrew and James Melville, P. Rollock, Dr P. Young, A. Henderson, S. Rutherford, Viscount Dundee, Sir John Scott of Scotstarvit, Napier of Merchiston, W. Wilkie, Dr J. Gregory, Robert Ferguson, Dr R. Watson, Dr A. Duncan, Senior, Dr A. Ferguson, G. Dempster, Professor Playfair, Dr G. Hill, Principal Playfair, Dr John Barclay, Sir John Leslie, Dr A. Bell, Dr John Hunter, &c.

In the year 1697, it was seriously intended to remove the seat of the university from St Andrews to Perth. Much correspondence passed among the parties concerned, and several interviews took

place between them, relative to the measure.* In the course of the correspondence, the following reasons are given by one of the professors for the removal of the university, which disclose some curious facts regarding the state of the town and people of St Andrews at that period.

“ As to the reason of a translation from this, there is, 1st, The interest of the nation, which will concur to the flourishing of the universitie ; Perth being the centre of the kingdom, and of easy access, and this in a corner, not accessible, *without crossing of seas*, except from the west, from whence few come.

“ 2d, It would contribute much to the civilizing of the Highlands, Perth being near them.

“ 3d, The victuals are dearer here than any where else, viz. fleshs, drinks of all sorts.

“ 4th, This place is ill provided of all commodities and trades, which obliges us to send to Edinburgh, and provide ourselves with shoes, clothes, hatts, &c., and what are here are double rate.

“ 5th, This place is ill provided of fresh water, the most part being served with a *stripe*, (the mill-lead, I suppose,) where the foul clothes, herring, fish, &c., are washed, so that it is most pairt neasty and unwholesome.

* See Transactions of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth. Vol. 1. 1827.

“6th, This place is a most thin and piercing air even to an excess, seeing that nitre grows upon the walls of the chambers where fires are used, if there be a light (a window) to the north, and this is the reason why old men coming to the place are instantly cut off.

“7th, As also, why infectious diseases have been observed to begin and rage here, as in the visitation in 1640, when Dr Bruce died; and last year a most *malignant flux, whereof dyed upwards of two hundredth persons in a few weeks*, which much prejudiced the universitie.*

“8th, This place being now *only a village*, where most part farmers dwell, *the whole streets are filled with dunghills*, which are exceedingly noisome, and ready to infect the air, especially at this season, (September,) when the herring gutts are exposed in them, or rather in all corners of the town by themselves; and the season of the year apt to breed infection, which partly may be said to have been the occasion of last year's dysenterie, and which, from its *beginning here, raged through most part of the kingdom.*”

The letter then goes on to state, that the inhabitants have “a great aversion to learning and

* What historians call the “plague,” seems to have been very frequent in this country in former times. J. Melville, in his “Diary,” p. 51, mentions that, in the year 1585, Dunfermline was the only town in Scotland that was free from it.

learned men," that none of them had ever been distinguished as a scholar in the university, and that "the rabble of the place" are much given to "tumultuate;" and, on one occasion, "had broken the new mylne belonging to the universitie, and threatened to burn the town;" and, on another occasion, (namely, in 1690,) had "chased the students into the colledges, and had brought their cannons to the very gates to throw down the colledge; one of the tradesmen drawing a whinger to Dr Skene within the colledge, threatening to murder him; as also Jo. Smith's threatening to drag him to prison"—"the contrar of all these may be reasonably expected in Perth."

It is evident from all this, that the professors were very anxious for a change. Why the measure failed is not stated, but it is easy to conceive that numerous obstacles would occur to its being carried into effect.

The university arms are curious, and bear evident marks of antiquity. In the centre is St Andrew extended upon his cross beneath a canopy. On one side is a monkish-looking professor, lecturing to his class, which is ranged at a table on the other side, with an *illuminator* holding a candle between them. Above are suspended three shields with devices. The one on the right, with the three mascles, is certainly that of Bishop Wardlaw, who founded the university. The royal shield on the left is, doubtless, in honour of the

contemporary sovereign, James I.; but whose the centre one is, I have not been able to learn, unless it be that of Pope Benedict XIII., who granted his bulls in confirmation of the university charter. The inscription is—**SIGILLUM UNIVERSITATIS DOCTORUM MAGISTRORUM ET SCOLARIUM SANCTI ANDREE.**

With a view to repair some of the buildings of the university, and to erect new ones, government allotted the sum of L.28,000 in the year 1828. Of this, L.14,000 were expended, partly in repairing St Mary's, but principally in erecting one side of the quadrangle of the United College; when, unhappily for the university, the Grey administration came into power. About the same time, Marischal College, Aberdeen, applied for pecuniary assistance; and the new ministry, thinking St Andrews had already had its share, or from some other motive, granted the remaining L.14,000 to the new applicants, and thus deprived the university of what it had been led to expect, and for which it had, and still has, the most pressing necessity. I know not what may be the wants of the other Scottish universities, but certainly Dr Johnson's lament, in 1773, is no less applicable to St Andrews now than it was then, that—"It is surely not without just reproach that a nation, of which the commerce is hourly extending, and the wealth increasing, denies any participation of its prosperity to its liter-

ary societies; and while its merchants and its nobles are raising palaces, suffers its universities to moulder into dust."

The falling off in the number and rank of the students, though not materially greater than at the other northern universities, can, I conceive, be ascribed to nothing but the decay of the buildings. At none of them can young men live more quietly or economically than they can here; and at none of them certainly are the principals and professors surpassed, in the zeal and ability with which they perform their functions.

It appears from the voluminous "Evidence" taken before the commissioners, appointed by the King, in 1826, for visiting the universities of Scotland, that from the Reformation down to the above date inclusive, there were seventeen different visitations of this university. They consist, for the most part, of details respecting discipline, correction of abuses, improved modes of teaching, rental of colleges, examination of students, repair of dilapidated buildings, &c. The details are generally very tedious and uninteresting, and supply little or nothing to repay the labour of investigating them. Upon a review of the whole, one cannot help coming to the conclusion, that the visitations in question seem to have been more successful in detecting errors, and in suggesting remedies for them, than in carrying those remedies into effect.

CHAPTER XII.

UNITED COLLEGE OF ST SALVATOR AND ST LEONARD—PROFESSORS—LIST OF BURSARIES, &c.—ST SALVATOR'S COLLEGE—CHAPEL—BISHOP KENNEDY'S MONUMENT—DR SPENS' MONUMENT—SILVER MACE—SILVER ARROWS AND MEDALS—JOHN KNOX'S PULPIT—ST LEONARD'S COLLEGE—CHAPEL—BUCHANAN.

UNITED COLLEGE.—The following are the names and designations of the present Principal and Professors.

SIR DAVID BREWSTER, LL.D., *Principal.*

Patron—The Crown.

<i>Professors.</i>	<i>Classes.</i>	<i>Patrons.</i>
Thomas Gillespie, D.D.,	Humanity.	Duke of Portland.*
Andrew Alexander, A.B.,	Greek.	} United College.
James Hunter, LL.D.,	Logic and Rhetoric.	
George Cook, D.D.,	Moral Philosophy.	
Adam Anderson, LL.D.,	Natural Philosophy.	
Thomas Duncan,	Mathematics.	Crown.
William Ferrie, D.D.,	Civil History.	Marquis of Ailsa.†
Robert Briggs, M.D.,	Medicine.	University.

* This nobleman is patron of the Humanity Chair, in consequence of his having married the daughter of the late General Scott, the lineal descendant of Sir John Scott of Scotstarvit, who founded the professorship.

† As representative of the family of Kennedy, the bishop of that name having founded the College of St Salvator.

The average number of students at the United College is about 130. They wear scarlet freize gowns. The Greek and Latin classes commence their session about the 20th October, the rest early in November; and the whole close on the fourth Friday in April. The students pay a fee of L.3, 3s. each to those professors whose classes they attend.

Bursaries belonging to this College.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Patrons.</i>	<i>Value of each.</i>
1.	Moncrieffe.	Sir T. Moncrieffe.	L.5 11 1
1.	Lawson.	Town Council, Dundee.	5 11 1
1.	Glendee.	Heirs of Dr A. Bell.	6 0 0
1.	P. Yeaman.*	Rait of Anniston.	14 0 0
1.	A. Yeaman.	United College.	8 4 11
4.	Guild.	Town Council, Dundee.	6 0 0
1.	Cupar.	Town Council, Cupar.	4 bolls wheat.
19.	Bishop Kennedy and	By competition.	L 10 0 0
1.	Prior Hepburn.	Principal of College.	10 0 0
4.	Stewart.†	United College.	5 0 0
1.	Mackay.	Lord Reay.	15 0 0
1.	Rorie.	Colonel Playfair.	5 0 0
1.	Thomson.	Minister of W. Anstruther, &c.	20 0 0
1.	Henry.	Presbytery of Kirkaldy, &c.	15 0 0
5.	Garth.	University, &c.	10 0 0
2.	Gray.	By competition.	10 0 0
8.	Bell. (see Ch. xvii.)	By competition.	Average, 12 10 0

These bursaries are 76 in number. Some of them fluctuate in value, but they may be said to amount to L.900 per annum.

* Alternately with St Mary's College.

† With a preference to the names of Stewart and Simpson.

Names of the Principals since the Union of the two Colleges.

1747, Thomas Tullidaph, D.D.	1819, Francis Nicoll, D.D.
1778. Robert Watson, D.D.	1835, John Hunter, LL.D.
1782, Joseph M'Cormick, D.D.	1837. John Lee, D D
1800, James Playfair, D.D.	1838, Sir D. Brewster, LL.D.

The parishes of which this college are patrons are Denino, Kemback, Kilmany, Cults, and Forteviot.

ST SALVATOR'S COLLEGE.—For an account of the foundation of this college by Bishop Kennedy, see p. 72. The edifice consists of a large quadrangle, in the apartments of which the professors of the United College deliver their lectures ; and of a venerable chapel, in which is to be seen the monument of the pious founder. This monument is, or rather has been, a beautiful piece of Gothic workmanship. It is said to have cost a sum equal to L.10,000 of our money ; to account for which, we must suppose the now empty niches to have been once filled with silver images. There is an inscription on the monument which no one has been able to decipher. The monument suffered irreparable injury when the ancient and beautiful roof of the chapel was taken down about 60 years ago. It was supposed that this roof (which was nearly flat, and of a very peculiar construction) might fall by its own weight, as it

seemed to have no adequate support. But after the workmen had unfortunately advanced too far to be able to retrace their steps, they found, to their surprise, that the roof was so firm and strong, that they were actually unable to take it to pieces. Their only plan was to detach it gradually from the walls and buttresses, and make it fall *en masse*. The report produced by its fall is said to have shaken the whole city.

This chapel, besides serving the purpose of the United College, is also the church of the small parish of St Leonard's. On the pavement of the vestibule is a monument to Dr Hugh Spens, who was principal here from A.D. 1505 to 1529. All of the inscription that is legible is—EGREGIUS VIR —SPENS—THEOLOGUS EXIMIUS IN UTROQUE JURE —DITAVIT MUNERIBUS. On the flat stone, the venerable figure of the principal is cut in low relief, with a cross upon his breast, his hands folded upon his chest, and his coat of arms and initials at his feet. This stone is cut transversely into two equal parts; and by some strange accident in laying down the eastern half, it has been reversed, so that the hands and feet of the figure come into contact.

Over the entrance to the college, as well as over the gateway of the church, are the arms of the founder; but under the former is a motto which I have not been able to decipher.

In the college there is shown an exquisitely wrought silver mace which in the year 1683 was discovered in Bishop Kennedy's monument, along with five others similarly formed, but not so handsome. † Appended to the one just mentioned is a label with a Latin inscription, to the effect that Kennedy caused it to be made in Paris in the year 1461; a second, containing the name and designation of the maker; and a third, stating that Dr Skene, principal of the college, caused it to be repaired in 1685.

In the same college there are preserved two silver arrows which used to be shot for annually in St Andrews, together with the silver medals which the winners were entitled to attach to them. The figures of the archers, while in the act of shooting, are engraved on their respective medals, some of whose attitudes and costumes are very curious. See Chapter XIX.

The charter-press of the college contains numerous MSS. charters, and some bulls of Popes Eugenius IV., Pius II., and Julius III., which are remarkable for their exquisite penmanship.

John Knox's pulpit is also to be seen here, from which he addressed the multitude, when he roused them to destroy the cathedral and the monasteries in 1559. It is supposed to have stood at that time in the parish church of the city. It is of carved oak, and much decayed; yet it has still the

twisted iron frames which held the baptismal font and hour-glass, and two projecting boards, one probably for the Bible, and the other for the Prayer Book. See p. 117.

ST LEONARD'S COLLEGE.—For the origin of this college, see p. 84. All that now remains of it is the ruined chapel, and a few buildings which are comparatively of recent date, and have been converted into dwelling-houses and offices. On the largest of these buildings is the following inscription:—*EREXIT. GUL. GUILD. SS. T. D. 1655.* In the chapel is a mural monument to Robert Wilky, who was twenty-one years principal of the college, and enriched it with various gifts and burseries. He died in 1611. The inscription on his monument says of him—*AREAM AB OCCIDENTE ÆDIBUS CLAUSIT. AB ORIENTE AUXIT. TESTAMENTO 4200 MERCAS PAUPERIBUS ALENDIS LEGAVIT.* It was of this chapel that Dr Johnson remarked, that “he was always hindered, by some civil excuse, from seeing it.” See p. 162. It is the revenues of St Leonard's which principally support the United College, as it is the buildings of St Salvator's which serve as lecture-rooms for the professors. The celebrated George Buchanan was for some years principal of this college, and the room which he occupied is still shown. He was presented to the principalship by Queen

Mary in 1566, who, besides, made him her own and her son's preceptor, and settled upon him for life a pension of L.100 sterling out of the temporalities of Crossraguel Abbey. These favours he ill requited by defaming her to the too willing ear of her rival Elizabeth, and by writing a book entitled "Detection of her Doings," designed to prejudice the minds of her subjects against her.

At the era of the Reformation, St Leonard's College, though a monastic institution, was distinguished for its opposition to Popery; so that to have "drunk of St Leonard's well" became a proverbial phrase for having imbibed the reformed opinions.*

* See M'Crie's Life of Knox, p. 512.

CHAPTER XIII.

ST MARY'S COLLEGE—PRINCIPAL AND PROFESSORS—STUDENTS—
LIST OF BURSARIES—DIMINISHED REVENUES—ROYAL ARMS OF
SCOTLAND—PAPAL BULLS.

THIS was the original site of the university or pedagium. See p. 66. There was once a chapel in this college dedicated to St John the Evangelist, but where it was situated is uncertain. Most likely, as it must have stood east and west, it occupied the south side of the quadrangle of which the north and west sides yet remain. On the north side is the university library, and on the west are the divinity hall and the principal's house.

At present the Principal and Professors are—

ROBERT HALDANE, D.D. *Principal.*

Patron—The Crown.

<i>Professors.</i>	<i>Classes.</i>	<i>Patron.</i>
George Buist, D.D.	Church History.	} Crown.
Thomas T. Jackson,	Biblical Criticism.	
William Tennant,	Oriental Languages.	

The resident students at this college are about 35 in number, and the non-resident about 12. See p. 167. They wear no distinguishing dress, and pay no fees to the professors; but are obliged to attend a course of Greek, Logic, and Natural and Moral Philosophy, at either this or some other Scottish university, before they can be admitted into St Mary's. The session begins the 1st December, and ends the 31st March.

Bursaries belonging to this College.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Patrons.</i>	<i>Value of each.</i>
2.	Alexander.*	St Mary's College.	15.
1.	P. Yeaman.†	Rait of Anniston.	14.
1.	Moncrieffe.	Sir T. Moncrieffe.	9.
1.	A. Yeaman.	St Mary's College.	7.
1.	Stewart.‡	Do.	10.
8.	Archbishop Beaton.	Do.	9.
3.	King William III.	Exchequer and University.	10.
1.	Bell.	Presbytery of Perth.	18.

These bursaries are 17 in number; and, deducting the Yeaman bursary, which alternates with the United College, their joint value is nearly L.200 per annum.

* With a preference to those of the name of Alexander.

† Alternately with the United College.

‡ With a preference to the names of Stewart and Simpson.

Names of the Principals since the beginning of the last century.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1710. James Hadon, D.D. | 1791. George Hill, D.D. |
| 1748. James Murison, D.D. | 1820. Robert Haldane, D.D. |
| 1780. James Gillespie, D.D. | |

The parishes of which this college are patrons are Tannadice, Craig, Logie-Pert, Laurence-kirk, and Tweedsmuir. The professors sold some of their patronage many years ago.

St Mary's College owes every thing to the munificence of Archbishops James and David Beaton, and their successor Hamilton, the last Roman Catholic primate of St Andrews; but as the revenues with which they endowed it consisted of the tithes of certain parishes, and as these were long ago converted into a permanent money rent, they are now, from the depreciation of the currency, of greatly diminished value; and, in some instances, are even swallowed up by the augmentations which, from time to time, have been granted to the ministers of the said parishes. The same remark holds true of the property belonging to the United College. To compensate in some measure for this loss, government make an annual grant to the professors; but it comes far short of what their revenue would have been, but for the depreciation referred to.

The papal bulls authorising the transfer of the

above-mentioned tithes from the archiepiscopal revenues to St Mary's, are still preserved in the college charter-chest. They have their little leaden *bullæ* attached to them, and are deserving of inspection, on account of the unrivalled beauty of the handwriting.

The Royal Arms of Scotland, having a crown above, and St Andrew on his cross below, and surrounded with a garland of thistles, are immediately over the porch of the principal's house, facing South Street. As this building seems to have been erected by Archbishop James Beaton, whose own arms are on another part of it, the royal arms here mentioned were, probably, in honour of the contemporary sovereign James V.*

* Archbishop Hamilton's arms, in a very mutilated state, are over the door leading to the Divinity Hall.

CHAPTER XIV.

ST REGULUS' TOWER AND CHURCH—ITS ANTIQUITY—ITS STATE WHEN ENTIRE—PART OF A CURIOUSLY CARVED STONE COFFIN DEPOSITED THERE.

THE following is copied from a note in Sir R. Sibbald's History of Fife:—"The tower and walls of this chapel of St Regulus still remain. The tower is square, of about 108 feet in height. The wall consists of exterior coatings of hewn stone, the space between which is filled up with small stones and lime, now so hardened as to be more difficult to cut than the stones themselves. The arches of the doors and windows are semicircular. This beautiful specimen of ancient architecture has lately (in 1789) been repaired at the expense of the Exchequer, and a winding stair built from the bottom to the top, which is covered with lead, within a parapet of some feet in height. This chapel can indeed have no pretensions to the

antiquity ascribed to it by Boethius; but the chaste and simple style of its architecture shows it to have been built before the introduction of the Gothic mode; and it may have been probably reared soon after the foundation of the city of St Andrews, in the ninth century."

This tower is situated about thirty-five yards to the south-east of the cathedral, which was erected at a much later period. It is constructed of a remarkably durable stone, which is not now found in any of the quarries near St Andrews, nor has it ever been ascertained whence it was procured. There are still the walls of a chapel on the east side of the tower, beyond which there is every symptom of there having been at one time a chancel. It is certain, at any rate, that there was an ante-chapel on the west side of the tower. Of the sloping roof of this building, a distinct trace may be seen on the side of the tower; and a complete view of it is represented on several old impressions of seals attached to the city and college charters. The same seals represent a small tower at the west end of this ante-chapel; and on both towers, short spires like those we now see on the town and college church steeples.

In the tower may be seen some curiously carved stones, which were recently dug up near the cathedral. They were fitted together with grooves, and appear to have formed a coffin. The head

stone has five square compartments containing figures of monkeys, and globes encircled by serpents. There are two other stones which exhibit numerous serpents intertwined, whose extremities terminate, sometimes in heads, sometimes in creatures resembling lizards. But the most remarkable of them all is a square stone which formed the south side of the coffin, representing a sort of hunting scene. There is a man on horseback, with a hawk on his arm, ready to be devoured by a tiger; another man tearing open the mouth of a lion; a third armed with a spear and a shield; a greyhound in the act of seizing a fox; a non-descript quadruped with wings, mounted on the back of an ass; two monkeys and other animals—which are all well executed, but out of proportion, and thrown together without any regard to perspective. The whole is in *alto relievo*. Some suppose them to be of Rhunic or Danish origin.

CHAPTER XV.

CATHEDRAL—STREETS OF THE TOWN DIVERGE FROM IT—DESCRIPTION OF ITS FORMER AND PRESENT STATE—ITS DIMENSIONS COMPARED WITH OTHER CATHEDRALS—THREE STONE COFFINS—MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS—HOW LONG THE CATHEDRAL WAS IN BEING DEMOLISHED - ADJOINING CEMETERY—PLAY UPON NAMES ON GRAVE-STONES.

THE three main streets of St Andrews diverge from the cathedral in such a manner, that the latter is seen at the eastern extremity of each of them. From this we may infer that these streets were not planned till after the foundation of the cathedral in A.D. 1160.

For some account of the origin, progress, and destruction of this once splendid church, see pp. 56 and 103. Enough, however, of its foundation, pillars, and walls, remains, to enable us to determine its dimensions with great precision. It consisted of a nave 200 feet long, and 62 feet wide, including the two

lateral aisles ; a transept with an eastern aisle, 160 feet long ; a choir with two lateral aisles, 98 feet long ; and at the eastern extremity, a body chapel 33 feet in length. The extreme length of the whole structure, measured inside the walls, is 356 feet. All that remains of the edifice is the east gable, part of the west front, and the wall on the south aisle of the nave, together with that of the west side of the south transept. In this last mentioned wall may still be seen the ruins of the steps by which the monks descended from the dormitory to the church to perform their midnight services. These walls contain thirteen windows, of which the six nearest the west have pointed, and the remaining seven, round arches. The great central tower was built on four massy piers, the bases of which may yet be seen at the intersection of the nave with the transept. The east gable consists of three very ancient oblong windows, with semi-circular arches, and a large window above them. These are situated between two turrets which terminate in pointed octagonal pinnacles. The west front consists of a pointed arched gateway, ornamented with rich mouldings. Immediately above it were two windows, of which only one is entire ; and above these, again, there appear to have been two others of somewhat larger dimensions. Only one of the turrets of the west front is standing : it is of light and delicate workmanship, and terminates in an octagonal lantern pinnacle.

“It is a very interesting and remarkable fact,” says Britton, in his account of the English Cathedrals, “that nearly all the ecclesiastical edifices of this country, which are of contemporaneous ages, are of a corresponding or very similar style. It is not easy to account for this uniformity in the architecture of churches, at places remote from each other, by any other clue than by considering that each new style originated at some convocation or assembly of the monastic builders or freemasons of each respective era.”

Slezer, in his *Theatrum Scotiæ*, asserts that the metropolitan church of St Andrews was probably the largest in Christendom, being, he says, “seven feet longer, and two feet broader, than that of St Peter’s at Rome.” This is a most absurd and unaccountable assertion.* St Peter’s is more than

* I see that Mr Lockhart, in Vol. VII. of Sir Walter Scott’s Life, p. 47, makes an assertion of similar import, namely, that the metropolitan cathedral of Scotland was the *largest in Europe*; and refers, for his authority, to an old Scotch writer named Voluensis, (or Wolsey,) *De Tranquillitate Animi*, who, according to Mr Lockhart, gives the dimensions of the cathedral “with minute calculations and much exultation.” Although I knew this must be a mistake, I immediately procured the book, and went over it page by page, (for it has neither “Contents” nor “Index,”) but could not find St Andrews once mentioned in it! There is, however, mention made, p. 97, of a “templum magnifice constructum haud procul ab Elgino oppido,” which templum is said, in another place, to be “omnium quæ tum in Scotia erant *longe* pulcherrimum.” In short, the *beauty* of Elgin cathedral seems to have been confounded with the *length* of St Andrews cathedral.

600 feet long. The cathedral of St Andrews was undoubtedly the largest in Scotland, yet most of the English cathedrals are larger than it. Winchester is 556 feet in length, York 524, Canterbury 514, St Paul's 514, Exeter 408, &c.

Martine informs us that the cathedral church of St Andrews "was furnished with many fair, great, and excellent bells, which, at the razing of the church, were taken down, and put aboard of a ship to be transported and sold. But it is reported, and certainlie believed in this place, that the ship which carried off the bells sunk in a fair day, within sight of the place where the bells formerlie hung."

The stones and rubbish produced by the demolition of the cathedral lay where they fell till so recently as the year 1826, when they were removed by order of the Exchequer, and the floor and the bases of the columns laid open. On this occasion, three stone coffins were discovered projecting from under the stone floor of the high altar. They still remain as they were found, excepting that the bones which they contained were taken out of them and buried. Whose coffins they were cannot now be known, but they are doubtless those of three distinguished prelates of the see; and I think they must have been placed there subsequent to the death of Winton, (about 1410,) who often speaks of the tombs in the cathedral, but says nothing of these. If I might hazard a conjecture, I would say they were the coffins of Archbishops

Shevez, J. Stewart, and J. Beaton. It is deserving of notice, that close beside these was found a skeleton with a deep cut on the skull, as if caused by the heavy blow of a broadsword;* and this might possibly be young Archbishop A. Stewart, who received his death-wound at Flodden, and whose remains would, in all probability, be conveyed for interment to his own cathedral church, and buried among his predecessors.

On the floor of the south transept are four flat tomb-stones, of which only two have legible inscriptions. The words are in black letter, and on the oldest of the two read thus—**HIC JACET SEPULTUS DOMPNUS† ROBERTUS CATHNIC CANONICUS ISTIUS LOCI QUI OBIIT ANNO DOM. MCCCLXXX.** The other inscription is—**HIC JACET JACOBUS ELIOLY CANONICUS METROPOLITANE ECCLESIE SANCTI ANDREE QUI OBIIT XVIII. DIE NOVEMB. ANN. DOM. MDXIII.** At each of the four corners of the last mentioned stone is a small compartment containing these words respectively—**FRATRES—OBSECRO—ORATE—PRO ME.** There is also a flat tomb-stone lying in St Leonard's garden, which has evidently been removed from the floor of the cathedral. The following is the inscription upon it—**HIC JACET DOMINUS WILLIELMUS RUGLYN HUIUS ECCLESIE CANONICUS AC MAGISTER FABRICE QUI OBIIT VIII. APRILIS ANN. DOM. MDII.**

* This skull is still preserved in St Salvator's College.

† The monkish way of writing Dominus.

There were fifty-one Bishops or Archbishops of St Andrews, whose names, and other particulars concerning them, have been given in the foregoing part of this work. The greater part of these were buried here, and many of them are known to have had expensive monuments erected to their memories. There must also have been upwards of two hundred canons of the priory interred in the same place. But of all these, there is not one monument of a bishop, and only those of three canons remaining! All the rest seem to have been swept away by the reformers of 1559.

I have not been able to ascertain precisely *how long* the cathedral took to be reduced to its present ruinous state—whether it were the work of days or of years. We may, I think, conclude that at the popular outbreak in the above year, much injury would be done to the building itself, as well as to its images, ornaments, and monuments, and any thing valuable removed; but in 1560, when the Protestant party, which had then assumed the reins of government, issued an order (see p. 104) “for demolishing cloisters and abbey churches, such as were not yet pulled down,” in all probability it would be reduced nearly to the condition in which we now see it. It must at least have been so much dilapidated as to be beyond the possibility of repair, otherwise it would surely have been preserved as the metropolitan church, after the partial restoration of Episcopacy in 1572, and its

full re-establishment in 1606. In the plan of the city of A.D. 1642, to which I have before referred, the cathedral presents nearly the same appearance that it does now, except that the square cloister adjacent to the south wall of the nave was then standing, though in ruins.

There are some curious old epitaphs in the adjacent cemetery ; all, however, posterior to the destruction of the cathedral, the ground not having been used as a cemetery prior to that catastrophe.* Among other epitaphs, there are two examples of what would now be called *puns* upon names, a practice much in vogue in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but to which no irreverent or ludicrous ideas seem to have been then attached. One of these is in Latin, on one Christian Wood, who died in 1636, and who is described as having been *sylva christianarum virtutum*, “a Wood of Christian virtues.” The other is on a Christian Bryde, who died in 1665, and who is said to have “lived with her beloved husband twenty-six years,” and who thus ends her epitaph, “Yet read my name, for *Christ-ane Bryde* am I.” Carved on the tomb-stone is a representation of the lady and her husband joining

* Where the cemetery was formerly situated cannot now be known ; but in various parts of the town and suburbs, human bones have been found in great quantities ; and in particular, near “the first hole” in the Links, a vast number of human skeletons were recently discovered, when digging the foundations of some houses.

hands, as if in the act of being married. I should not, perhaps, have noticed this last monument, were it not that a singular tradition has gone abroad, and even now very generally believed in St Andrews and the neighbourhood, that this lady dropped down dead on the day of her marriage. This tradition must have originated from the above representation on the stone, in conjunction with the words "ane Bryde am I," which some persons had read, who would not take the trouble to read the whole inscription. I am informed by the sexton that many persons come from a distance, indifferent about viewing the other antiquities of the place, but full of curiosity to see this wonderful monument; and are not a little disappointed to be told that the foregoing story, which they had heard and believed, is untrue. Nay, some who cannot, or will not read, are such determined lovers of the marvellous, that they go away resolved to believe the original story, in spite of the sexton's assurances that it is contradicted by the very words of the inscription!

The beam which overhangs the gateway on entering the burying-ground is said to have belonged to one of the ships of the Spanish Armada, which was wrecked in the bay of St Andrews.

CHAPTER XVI.

CASTLE—ITS HISTORY—FREQUENTLY TAKEN AND RETAKEN—SIR A. MURRAY FINALLY TOOK IT FROM THE ENGLISH IN 1335—JAMES I. EDUCATED HERE BY BISHOP WARDLAW—JAMES II. AND BISHOP KENNEDY—JAMES III. BORN HERE—SIEGE, CAPTURE, AND DESTRUCTION OF THE CASTLE AFTER THE MURDER OF CARDINAL BEATON—REBUILT BY ARCHBISHOP HAMILTON—JAMES VI. TOOK REFUGE IN IT IN 1583, AND HELD A CLERICAL CONFERENCE IN IT IN 1617—LORD OGILVY'S ESCAPE FROM IT IN 1646—DUNGEON.

THIS structure, which answered the threefold purpose of an Episcopal palace, a fortress, and a state-prison, was founded by Roger, Bishop of St Andrews, in the year 1200, as a residence for himself and his successors, by whom it is frequently called, in official documents, *nostrum palatium*. It was often besieged, taken, and demolished or dismantled, and as often repaired or rebuilt, during the various civil and foreign wars which prevailed from the time of its erection, down to the Revolution. The victorious troops of Edward I.

took the place in 1303 ; and in the course of the same year, Edward himself held a parliament in the city, at which nearly all the Scottish nobility and church dignitaries gave in their allegiance to the conqueror. The castle was retaken from the English in 1305, and again captured by them in the following year. But the victory at Bannockburn, in 1314, finally released this and all the other fortresses in the south of Scotland from the grasp of the English. Not many years after, however, the vassal king, Edward Baliol, having obtained possession of the Castles of St Andrews and Cupar, Sir Andrew Murray, the regent of Scotland, (on behalf of David II.) set himself to wrest these strongholds from the pretender to the throne. On Cupar, which was ably defended by an English ecclesiastic of the name of Bulloch, the regent was unable to make an impression ; but, in 1335, he succeeded in capturing the Castle of St Andrews, after a three weeks' siege, with the help of battering machines, called *boustours*, by means of which, it is said, he was enabled to throw stones of 200 pounds weight against the walls. It is added that, not having a sufficient force to garrison it, he destroyed it, through fear of its again falling into the hands of the English.

The unfortunate Duke of Rothsay, eldest son of Robert III., was confined here, in 1401, pre-

paratory to his removal to Falkland, where he was starved to death by his enemies. In this fortress, moreover, it was that the young king James I. was educated under the care of Bishop Wardlaw, previous to his captivity in England. After he had recovered his freedom, and returned to his native kingdom, he paid frequent visits to the Castle of St Andrews, attracted partly by the hospitality of the bishop, but chiefly by the science and literature of the infant university, in which he took great delight, and which he used all his influence to encourage. On one of these occasions, in 1425, when celebrating his birth-day with many of his nobles and clergy, he received a deputation from the Flemings, who came to him for the purpose of settling the terms of a commercial treaty, which they were desirous of entering into with his subjects.

Here also the wise and talented Bishop Kennedy explained to his sovereign James II., by the well known experiment of breaking a bundle of arrows one by one, the manner in which he ought to set about destroying the overgrown power of the Douglasses. The king, driven almost to despair by the increasing power and insolence of that family, came here to Kennedy for advice. "Sir, (said the bishop, perceiving that James was exhausted with fatigue, as well as depressed in spirits,) I entreat your grace to partake, in the

first instance, of some refreshment, and while you do so, I will pass into my chamber, and pray to God for you and the commonwealth of this realm." On coming from his devotions, he met the king, and leading him back with him to his chamber, they knelt down together, and besought the guidance of Him who ruleth over the armies of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth. When they had finished their prayer, and had commenced their consultation, the bishop recommended to the king immediately to collect his forces, and, at the same time, to proclaim an amnesty to all the followers of Douglas who should, within a given time, forsake that rebellious subject, and repair to the royal standard; the effect of which was, that James soon saw himself at the head of an army of 40,000 men. With this force, and by sowing discord among the enemy, he succeeded in attaining his object—a result mainly attributable, under God, to the wisdom and energy of the Bishop of St Andrews.

There is reason to think that James III. was born in the Castle of St Andrews; for, in a charter granted by his father, (commonly called the "Golden Charter,") in favour of the bishoprick, he speaks "of the happy birth of his first-born son in the chief mansion of the city of the Blessed Andrew, the patron-saint of his kingdom."

In 1514, the celebrated Gawin Douglas, hav-

ing been nominated by the queen-mother to the vacant primacy, took possession of this fortress; but though supported in his pretensions by his uncle, the powerful Earl of Angus, he was soon after obliged to surrender it to Prior Hepburn, who had been elected to the see by the canons of the priory. He, in his turn, was induced to cede it to Forman, Bishop of Moray, legate for Scotland, who had been appointed to the primacy by the Roman pontiff, and who did not scruple to employ a portion of his great wealth in bringing over the prior to his interest. See p. 85.

The castle was pillaged in 1526 by the Douglasses, out of revenge against Archbishop James Beaton, to whom it then belonged, for having taken part with their enemy, the Earl of Lennox, p. 88.

1. See an account of Cardinal Beaton's assassination in this place, p. 94. The assassins being determined to keep possession of the castle, the Governor of Scotland attacked it in the winter of 1546-7 with a considerable force, and two uncommonly large cannons nicknamed *Crook-mow* and *Deaf-Meg*. "But, (says Lindsay,) after three months siege, the pest arising in the town, he was constrained to leave his purpose without effect. Hereby these that were in the castle became exceeding insolent, and oppressed all the country about, with spoiling of goods and ravishing of women,

notwithstanding of the manifold admonitions of sundry godly men who were with them, and foretold them of that which came to pass thereafter." Next summer the French sent a force of 21 galleys under the command of *Leon Strozius*, who was both a priest and a warrior, to assist the government in reducing the castle. When the news came that these vessels were seen off St Abb's Head steering for St Andrews, "the governor, (continues Lindsay,) well content hereof, hasted him to St Andrews, with the gentlemen of Fife, Angus, and Strathern, and welcomed the French captain, Prior of Capua, directed from the French king to besiege the castle, and to bring the keepers of it prisoners to him. They clapt about the house so hastily and unexpectedly, that many were closed out, and divers were closed in against their will. Then *they mounted their ordnance both upon the college steeple, and also upon the walls* (probably the roof) *of the abbey-kirk*, wherewith they condemned the castle close; so that no man durst walk therein, or go up to the wall head. The captain told the governor, that they had been unexpert warriors, who had not mounted their ordnance on the steeple heads in that manner; and that he wondred at the keepers of the castle that they had not first broken down the heads of the steeples. He caused also the great battery to be laid to the castle, the two Scottish

cannons and six French ; and to preveen (prevent) slaughter, he devised, that the cannons should pass down the streets by ingines, without any man with them ; which thing when the Italian ingineer (which had been sent from England for the support of those within the castle) perceived, he said, that they had now to do with men of war, and therefore had need to take heed to themselves. They answered, that they should defend their castle against Scotland, France, and Ireland, all three. But the battery, within few hours, made such breaches in the walls, that, despairing of their strength, after consultation they yielded the castle and themselves to the King of France. The French captain entered and spoiled the castle very rigorously ; wherein they found great store of vivers, clothes, armour, silver and plate, which, with the captives, they carried away in their gallees. (Among these captives was the famous John Knox.) The governor, by the advice of the council, demolished the castle, lest it should be a receptacle of rebels. This befel in the year one thousand five hundred and forty-seven, in the month of August.”*

The castle having been destroyed, (partly, it is supposed, because the blood of a cardinal had been shed in it,) the inferior structure of which

* Buchanan's History, Vol. II. p. 205.

we now see the remains, was soon after erected in its place by Beaton's successor, Archbishop Hamilton, whose arms and initials may be traced under one of the southern windows, and whose device, the five-rayed star, may be distinctly seen on the stones above the gateway.

In 1583, James VI., when he was only eighteen years of age, took refuge in this fortress from the Earls of Mar, Gowrie, and Glencairn, who, for twelve months, had kept him in a sort of captivity. He had got their permission to visit St Andrews, and to enter the castle for the ostensible purpose of examining the works; and when within the gates, with the assistance of the governor, who was accessory to his design, he commanded them to be suddenly closed against his attendants, and thus escaped from their custody. As soon as his situation was known, he was joined by the well-affected part of the nobility, and by their means recovered his freedom and independence.

Archbishop Gladstones, we have seen, resigned the castle and its appendages, about the year 1610, and consented to their alienation from the see for ever, in favour of George Earl of Dunbar. Like most of the ancient ecclesiastical property of St Andrews, it now belongs to the crown; but at what period it passed to it from the Dunbar family does not appear.

We have had occasion to observe, under the episcopate of Spotswood, that in 1617, James VI. held, in the chapel of this place, a conference with his clergy, which was the last time that he, or any other sovereign, ever visited St Andrews.

I have mentioned, p. 123, that Sir R. Spotswood, Colonel Gordon, and others, were taken prisoners at the battle of Philiphaugh, and, in 1646, executed at St Andrews by the Covenanters for their adherence to Charles I. Among these prisoners was Lord Ogilvy, who was condemned to death with the rest, and confined in the Castle of St Andrews previous to his intended execution, but made his escape by the following stratagem: He pretended to be sick, and applied for permission for his mother, his wife, and his sisters, to visit him in prison. This favour he obtained with some difficulty, through the interest of the Hamiltons, to whose family he was related, and of Lord Lindsay, who was his cousin. After his friends got admittance to him, and the guards had retired, he dressed himself in the clothes of one of his sisters; she, at the same time, putting on his night-cap, and lying down in his bed. After mutually taking leave, the party quitted the castle about eight o'clock in the evening, apparently in great distress, and covering their faces with their handkerchiefs; and thus, in the disguise of a female, Lord Ogilvy deceived the

guards, and got safely out. He immediately left the town, and having horses waiting for him, rode off with all speed, attended by two servants, and was out of danger before day-break. Next morning, when the stratagem was discovered, the Covenanters were enraged beyond measure, and particularly the Earl of Argyle, at being deprived of the satisfaction which they had proposed to themselves from the execution of one of the keenest of their enemies; so much so, that they insisted on the immediate punishment of the ladies who were accessory to the fraud. But from this the latter were protected by the Hamiltons and Lord Lindsay, with whose privacy, it was generally thought, the whole affair had been conducted.*

At the northern extremity of the ruins may be seen a deep circular dungeon cut into the solid rock, and passing through a narrow seam of coal, in which prisoners were formerly confined.

* See Wishart's *Memoirs of Montrose*, 237.

CHAPTER XVII.

MADRAS COLLEGE—ITS FOUNDATION AND OBJECT—VISITORS AND TRUSTEES—TEACHERS' FEES—BELL'S BURSARIES—RUIN IN FRONT OF THE COLLEGE.

THE foundation-stone of the Madras College was laid on the 9th April 1832, and the structure erected from a design by Mr William Burn, architect. The funds for this purpose were bequeathed by the Rev. Dr Andrew Bell, Prebendary of Westminster, and Master of Sherburne Hospital. Dr Bell was for many years chaplain of the Orphan Asylum at Madras; and the object of his college is to teach the languages and sciences according to the Monitorial system, which he invented at that presidency, and brought with him to this country. For this purpose he devoted about L.50,000 for the use of his native city of St Andrews, of which about L.17,000 have been spent in erecting the college, and the rest is employed

in upholding and endowing it.* The trustees for the government of this establishment are the two ministers of the town church, the provost of the city, and Professor Alexander, the last of whom is to be succeeded in the office by the Sheriff of Fife. The patrons or visitors are the Bishop of Edinburgh, the Lord Lieutenant of the County, and the Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland—all for the time being.

The poor are taught gratuitously at this college; those who are a grade above them pay very trifling fees; and the highest fees paid to the different masters are as follows: Latin and Greek, 7s. 6d. per quarter; Mathematics, 7s. 6d.; German and French, 7s. 6d.; Drawing, 7s. 6d.; Geography, 5s.; Writing, 3s.; Arithmetic, 2s. 6d.; English, 2s.

The number of young persons of both sexes who receive their education at this seminary is about 800.

Dr Bell directed eight bursaries to be attached to this foundation, namely, one of L.20, two of

* Besides the above sum for St Andrews, Dr Bell left about L.10,000 for each of the following places—London, Edinburgh, Leith, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Cupar, and Inverness—to be expended in establishing schools conformably to his favourite system. He, moreover, gave the interest of a like sum to be spent in promoting the “religious and moral” improvement of the city of St Andrews; he founded an annual lectureship in Edinburgh for explaining the Madras system of education to the public; and he left L.1000 to Dr Southey, on condition that he should write his life.

L.15, and five of L.10 per annum, to be given to those boys who pass the best examinations previous to leaving the Madras College, and entering the United College in the university. These bursaries are tenable for four years.

The Latin and English burgh-schools of St Andrews are merged into the Madras College, by an arrangement which Dr Bell made with the provost and town council.

The small Gothic ruin in front of the college, is the north transept of the chapel of the Dominican or Black Friars' monastery, which stood on this site. See p. 48. This piece of ground fell into the hands of Lord Seaton after the Reformation, and from him passed into the family of Spens of Lathallan. It afterwards became the property of Dr Patrick Young, Archdeacon of St Andrews, who made a grant of it to the town, for the purpose of erecting a grammar-school thereupon. Lastly, Dr Bell procured it from the town, and upon it, together with some additional ground which he purchased, generously erected the Madras College for the purpose already mentioned.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ROYAL AND ANCIENT GOLF CLUB—ITS ORIGIN—CAPTAIN—SILVER CLUB—OLD GOLD MEDAL—LIST OF CAPTAINS AND MEDAL-HOLDERS—SILVER CROSS—ROYAL GOLD MEDAL.

THE Royal Golf Club was instituted in 1754, and consists chiefly of the noblemen and gentlemen of Fife, to the number of about 400. The game is practised on the far-famed Links of St Andrews.

The gentleman who presides over this club is called the Captain, whose office is really elective, though apparently competed for. The captain for the preceding year has the privilege of nominating his successor, being usually some gentleman of standing and influence in the county. The new captain having been fixed upon, goes through the ceremony of playing for a silver club, which he is permitted to win; and then he appends to it a hollow silver ball, of the same size as an ordinary

golf-ball, inscribed with his name and arms, and the date of his fictitious victory. The duty of the captain is to preside at golf meetings, as also at the annual ball given by the club in the town hall of St Andrews.

I will mention the different objects of competition, in the order in which they have come into the possession of the club.

In the autumn of every year, generally in the beginning of October, there is a grand competition for the old gold medal. On this occasion St Andrews presents a gay and animated scene. Not only do the playing members of the club assemble from all quarters, but many of the county families repair to the city, to witness the contest, and to be present at the ball. The member who holes his golf-ball at the least number of strokes round the links, is the winner of the medal for the year. He inscribes upon it his name, and the date of his victory, and holds it till won by a more successful competitor. This medal was first played for on the 3d October 1806, and won by Walter Cook, Esq. W.S., Edinburgh, at 100 strokes.

The following is a list of the captains and medal-holders of the golf club from the year 1806, in which year the said medal was first played for.

1807.	General George Moncrieff.	Do.	do.	101
1808.	Alexander Guthrie, Esq. of Craigie.	William Oliphant, Esq. Leith.		102
1809.	James Home Rigg, Esq. of Morton.	Do.	do.	104
1810.	John Maitland, Esq. of Kilmaron.	Dr James Hunter, United College.		111
1811.	Thomas Bruce, Esq. of Grangemuir.	Do.	do.	116
1812.	R. Gillespie Smith, Esq. of Gibleston.	Robert Pattullo, Esq.		109
1813.	General James Durham of Largo.	Do.	do.	114
1814.	George Cheape, Esq. of Pusk.	Do.	do.	118
1815.	John Makgill, Esq. of Kembach.	Dr James Hunter, United College.		101
1816.	Sir John Anstruther of Anstruther, Bart.	David Moncrieff, Esq.		111
1817.	David Moncrieff, Esq. yr. of Moncrieff.	Walter Cook, Esq. W.S.		118
1818.	John Murray, Esq. of Lintrose.	Capt. H. L. Playfair.		111
1819.	Robert Bruce, Esq. of Kennet.	Sir David Moncrieff, Bart.		102
1820.	The Right Hon. John, Earl of Leven and Melville.	Edward D'Oyly, Esq.		108
1821.	Alexander Bethune, Esq. of Blebo.	Henry M. Low, Esq. W.S.		108
1822.	Alexander Binny, Esq. St Andrews.	Charles Shaw, Esq. Leith.		113
1823.	J. Whyte Melville, Esq. of Strathkinnes.	Henry M. Low, Esq. W.S.		120
1824.	Colonel James Lindsay, yr. of Balcarres.	Do.	do.	110
1825.	Sir Ralph Anstruther of Balcastie, Bart.	Samuel Messieux, Esq.		105
1826.	Charles M. Christie, Esq. of Durie.	Robert Pattullo, Esq. jun.		104
1827.	James Cheape, Esq. of Balgove, Capt. R.N.	Samuel Messieux, Esq.		111
1828.	John Dalryell, Esq. of Lingo.	Robert Pattullo, Esq. jun.		105
1829.	Sir David Erskine of Cambo, Bart.	Major Holcroft, R.A.		109
1830.	Francis Balfour, Esq. of Fernie.	Do.	do.	111
1831.	James Stuart Oliphant, Esq. of Rossie.	David Duncan, Esq.		111
1832.	C. Halket Craigie, Esq. of Dumbarnie.	John A. Wood, Esq. Leith.		104
1833.	Major Robt. Anstruther of Third Part.	Major Holcroft, R.A.		103
1834.	General Sir John Oswald of Dunnikier, G.C.B.	Robert Oliphant, Esq.		97
1835.	Colonel John M. Belshes of Buttergask.	Do.	do.	103
1836.	Do.	Major Wemyss.		104
1837.	George Moncrieff, Esq. Captain, Scots F. Guards.	James Condie, Esq. Perth.		103

✓ In October 1835, Colonel J. M. Belshes, the captain for that year, presented to the club a handsome silver St Andrew's cross, to be played for annually in the month of May. This cross was first won by James Condie, Esq. writer, Perth, on the 4th May 1836, at 110 strokes ; and by John H. Wood, Esq. merchant, Leith, on the 3d May 1837, at 100 strokes.

✓ At the golf meeting on the last mentioned day, Colonel Belshes laid before the club a very splendid gold medal as a gift from the late king, who had, the year before, condescended to become patron of the club. On one side of this medal there are the royal arms, with the words, " PRESENTED BY KING WILLIAM THE FOURTH ;" and on the reverse, the arms of St Andrews, and the words, " TO THE ROYAL AND ANCIENT GOLF CLUB OF ST ANDREWS, 1836." It was proposed and agreed to, that, to prevent the risk of this medal being lost, which in that case would be irreparable, it should remain in the custody of the secretary of the club, but might be worn by its winner, on public days, provided he were in St Andrews. It was also agreed that at the autumnal golf meetings, the old medal should be played for on the Wednesday, and the royal medal on the Friday following : and that if the same gentleman won both, he should retain the latter only, and give up the former to be again contended

for the next day, he himself not being one of the **candidates**. On Friday the 22d September 1837, **the** royal medal was first played for, and won by **J. S. Oliphant, Esq.**, at 104 strokes.

CHAPTER XIX.

ANCIENT ARCHERY CLUB—NAMES, &c. OF ITS ARROW-HOLDERS—
ORIGIN OF THE NEW CLUB . ANNUAL COMPETITION FOR THE
SILVER ARROW—LIST OF ARROW-HOLDERS—FEAT OF ARCHERY
AT ST ANDREWS IN 1530—ANOTHER IN 1593 WHICH PRODUCED
A TUMULT AMONG THE INHABITANTS.

THERE was an Archers Club in St Andrews from the year 1618 till 1751, as appears from the dates on the medals attached to the two silver arrows preserved in St Salvator's College. See p. 178.

As it may interest some of my readers to know the names, &c. of the noblemen and gentlemen who won these arrows during the above period, I will here subjoin a list of them. The medals contain not only their names, but their arms and mottos, and often their profiles in the art of drawing the bow, the name of their college, &c. I will, however, confine myself to the name and date, and the motto when it is given.

The first arrow has 39 medals attached to it,
and weigh together 166 oz. of silver.

No.	Date.	Name.	Motto
1.	1618.	J. Cunningham.	
2.	1619.	J. M.	
3.	1620.	W. Dundas.	
4.	1622.	Earl of Morton.	Sicker.
5.	1623.	Archibald Lord Lorn.	I byde my tyme.
6.	1624.	Lord Rob. Douglas.	
7.	1626.	D. Leslie.	
8.	1627.	J. Stirling.	
9.	1627.	Earl of Weems.	
10.	1628.	D. Forrester.	

Here intervenes a long blank, occasioned probably by the civil troubles.

11.	1675.	Dav. Drummond.	
12.	1676.	John Ramsay.	Superna sequor.
13.	1677.	Will. Cockburn.	Plus vigila.
14.	1678.	Colin Campbell.	Arte et marte.
15.	1679.	Lord Cha. Carnegie.	Dread God.
16.	1680.	Dav. Viscount Stormont.	Spero meliora.
17.	1682.	Alex. Watson.	Augetur sedulus.
18.	1683.	Alex. Yeamane.	
19.	1684.	John Kindal.	
20.	1685.	Dav. Drummond.	Cum corde.
21.	1687.	M. Graham of Gorthy.	Sepulto viresco.
22.	1689.	A. Robertson of Strewan.	Virtutis gloria merces.
23.	1690.	A. Graham of Brackness.	Nec temere nec timide.
24.	1692.	Lord Lindsay.	Love but dread.
25.	1693.	Rob. Heriot of Ramornie.	
26.	1694.	Earl of Rothes.	Grip fast.
27.	1695.	P. Nairne of Sandford.	L'esperance me confort.
28.	1697.	James Bethune of Balfour.	Le debonnaire.
29.	1698.	W. Nairne of Baldovan.	L'esperance me confort.
30.	1699.	R. Pringle, Cupar.	
31.	1700.	John Patullo of Balhovie.	Ægris opem fero.
32.	1701.	And. Galloway, Dunkeld.	
33.	1702.	G. Paterson of Dunmoore.	Huc tendimus omnes.
34.	1703.	T. Aiton of Kinaldie.	Quæ sursum sunt.
35.	1704.	J. Craigie of Dumbarnie.	Honeste viva.

No.	Date.	Name.	Motto.
36.	1705.	R. Hay of Strowie.	Cresco sub jugo.
37.	1705.	A. Cassie of Kirkhouse.	Sub pondere sursum.
38.	1706.	Lord William Murray.	
39.	1707.	D. Scott of Scotstarbet.	

The second arrow has 30 medals, and weigh together 55 oz. 4 drs. of silver.

1.	1710.	Alex. Sharp.	Pro mitra coronam.
2.	1712.	Rob. Fotheringham, (aged 15.)	Be it fast.
3.	1714.	Alex. Sharp.	Pro mitra coronam.
4.	1716.	Lord Elcho.	Je pense.
5.	1716.	William Vilant.	
6.	1717.	Lord Maitland, (aged 16.)	Consilio et animis.
7.	1718.	Adam Murray.	Tout prest.
8.	1719.	Lord Rosehill.	Tache sans tache.
9.	1719.	Lord Doune.	} Salus per Christum redemptorem.
10.	1720.	James Leslie.	
11.	1720.	Charles Leslie.	Grip fast.
12.	1720.	Thomas Leslie, (aged 13.)	Grip fast.
13.	1720.	Lord Leslie, (aged 14.)	Grip fast.
14.	1721.	Alexander Haldane.	Grip fast.
15.	1722.	Dav. Bethune of Kilconquhar.	Suffer suffer.
16.	1724.	Alex. Aiton of Kinnaldie.	Resolutio canta.
17.	1725.	Alex. Scrimseour of Tealing.	Quæ sursum sunt.
18.	1727.	Geo. Haddow, (aged 15.)	Dissepate.
19.	1728.	James Patullo of Balhouffie.	Ut prasim.
20.	1729.	Robert Young.	Ægris opem fero.
21.	1730.	David Sibbald.	Press through.
22.	1730.	James Durham of Largo.	
23.	1735.	A. M'Leod of Muiravonside.	Victoria non præda.
24.	1736.	John M'Leod of Talisker.	Murus ahenus.
25.	1738.	Sir James Sharp of Stratyrum.	Murus ahenus.
26.	1739.	Sir R. Henderson of Fordell.	Pro mitra coronam.
27.	1745.	A. Bayne of Riraces.	Sola virtus nobilitat.
28.	1749.	A. Duncan of Craigton.	Virtute.
29.	1750.	Geo. Dempster of Dunnichen.	Discepati.
30.	1751.	Earl of Elgin.	Fortiter et strenue.
			Fuimus.

A new club was established here in 1833, and now consists of a captain, vice-captain, secretary, trea-

surer, and about 70 members. There are two principal annual meetings of the club, the one on St Andrew's day, the other on the first Wednesday in August; on which latter occasion, such members as are disposed compete on the Links for a silver arrow, to which the winner has the privilege of attaching a silver medal inscribed with his name and arms. The competitors shoot six ends with three arrows each; first at point-blank distance, which is 33 yards, then at 100 yards, and lastly at 150 yards. The winner holds the silver arrow till won from him by a more skilful rival. The holders of this arrow have been as follows:

- 1834. Professor Jackson, LL.D., United College.
- 1835. Professor Alexander, A.B., United College.
- 1836. Professor Jackson, LL.D., United College.
- 1837. Dr W. Thomson of Prior Letham.

Lindsay of Pitscottie mentions a trial of skill in archery which took place at St Andrews in the year 1530 between six Englishmen and as many Scotchmen, in the presence of King James V. The Queen-mother, who was an Englishwoman, had been boasting of the superiority of her countrymen at archery, and offered to back them against the Scots. "The king," says the narrative, "hearing of this, was content; and gart her pawn a hundred crowns, and a tun of wine, upon the Englishmen's heads; and he incontinent laid down

as much for the Scottish men. The field and ground was chosen in St Andrews, and three landed men and three yeomen chosen to shoot against the Englishmen, to wit, David Wemyss of that Ilk, David Arnot of that Ilk, and Mr John Wedderburn, Vicar of Dundee; the yeomen, John Thomson in Leith, Steven Taburner, with a piper called Alexander Bailie. They shot very near, and warred the Englishmen of the enterprise, and wan the hundred crowns and the tun of wine; which made the king very merry, that his men wan the victory."

The following extract from Mr J. Melville's "Diary" contains another feat of archery in St Andrews, but of a somewhat different description from the foregoing. I have abbreviated the narrative and modernized the spelling. "In that summer (1592) the devil stirred up a most dangerous tumult of the people of St Andrews against my uncle, (the famous Mr Andrew Melville,) to the extreme peril of his life, if God had not been his protection. The wicked malicious rulers of the town hated Mr Andrew, because he could not bear with their ungodly and unjust dealing; and they incensed the rascally mob, by false information, against him and his college, (St Mary's,) making them believe that he and the college sought the trouble of the town. They being thus prepared, the devil furnishes them with

an opportunity of falling to work. There were some students of theology, who, wearying to go out of the college to their exercise, erected a large pair of butts in the college garden, adjoining to a wynd of the town. At these they were shooting one afternoon, when one of them, (Mr John Caldcleuche, a master of theology, but scarcely a scholar in archery,) missing the butt, and some thatched houses beyond, shot his arrow down the wynd, and hit an old honest matman of the town, and hurt him on the neck. This coming to the ears of the foresaid malicious rulers, they rung the common bell, and stirred up the mob, who attacked the college, broke open the gate, and with great violence tried to force an entrance into the hall, crying for fire to burn it. But the Lord, assisting his servant with wisdom and courage, enabled him to deal mildly with some of them whom he knew to be misled, and sharply with others whom he knew to be deceivers of the people. By the exertions of Mr David Black, and Mr Robert Wilkie, Principal of St Leonard's, with other masters and scholars of the university, after long vexation and much ado, the uproar was quelled."—P. 206. It must be borne in mind that both the Melvilles were keen party men, and that they made no scruple of ascribing to the devil whatever was contrary to their own preconceived notions of propriety.

CHAPTER XX.

SOME PARTICULARS CONCERNING THE PRESENT STATE OF ST ANDREWS AND NEIGHBOURHOOD—PLACES OF PUBLIC WORSHIP—PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION—BURGH ADMINISTRATION—COMMERCE AND MANUFACTURES—SOCIETY—POPULATION—INFANT SCHOOL—BATHS—BANK—COAST GUARD—WATER—FEMALE CHARITABLE SOCIETY—FLORAL AND HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY—LODGINGS—COACHES—MARKETS AND FAIRS—WALKS—MAGUS MUIR, THE SCENE OF ARCHBISHOP SHARP'S MURDER—NEIGHBOURING PROPRIETORS OF SEATS—OBJECTS OF INTEREST TO STRANGERS.

PLACES OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.—Of these there are five; two belonging to the Presbyterian Establishment, namely, the Town Church and the College Church; a chapel of the Episcopal communion, (which is the only remains of the ancient church,) an Independent, and a Secession meeting-house.

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION.—St Andrews, Cupar, Crail, East and West Anstruther,

Kilrenny, and Pittenweem, unite in returning a member to parliament. The number of qualified voters for the whole district is about 650.

BURGH ADMINISTRATION.—The affairs of the burgh are administered by a provost, four bailies, and twenty-five councillors, who must all possess the parliamentary franchise. The provost is elected by the councillors, and remains three years in office. The bailies are also chosen by the councillors, and remain in office so long as they themselves remain in the council. A third part of the councillors goes out every year, and their places are filled up by the votes of the electors residing within the royalty.

COMMERCE AND MANUFACTURES.—Of these there are scarcely any in the place. Coals, and occasionally timber, and bone-manure, are the only articles of import. Grain and potatoes are shipped for various ports; and there is a small vessel which sails regularly to and from Leith. The only articles manufactured are flax, for the spinning of which there is one small mill; yarn, which is wove by the hand-loom weavers for the Dundee market; and golf-balls and clubs, which are in constant demand, not only for St Andreew, but for distant places.

SOCIETY.—There is a large and excellent society in St Andrews, arising from its being the seat of a university, from the cheapness of education, and from the attraction of the favourite game of golf. Many of the gentlemen are retired half-pay officers of the Queen's or East India Company's service.

POPULATION.—The population of the parish of St Andrews amounts, by the last year's census, to 6745. That of the town, by itself, has not been ascertained, but it is estimated at 5000.

INFANT SCHOOL.—Here the children are taught every thing that is commonly taught at these convenient institutions. Each child pays a penny a week to the schoolmistress; and the expense is farther defrayed by the rent of a house which the late Dr Bell bought, and bestowed upon this institution in perpetuity. The same reverend gentleman also stipulated with the town council, that the infant school should obtain possession of the English burgh schoolhouse, when that seminary became merged in the Madras College. See p. 208. The number of children who attend this institution varies from about 80 in winter, to about 140 in summer.

BATHS.—There are good hot and cold baths in

a building near the castle ; and on the beach immediately below, there is a sheltered bathing place, which is exclusively appropriated to the use of the ladies. They have, however, to pay a trifle for this privilege.

BANK.—There is a branch of the Bank of Scotland in the town, which at present gives $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for money deposited in it, and discounts bills at 4 per cent.

COAST GUARD.—This establishment consists of a lieutenant of the navy, and five men under his command, whose duty consists in preventing smuggling on the east coast of Fife, and in aiding the civil authorities when required.

WATER.—I wish I could have reported favourably of so essential an article as water. Our chief supply is brought into a reservoir in the town by deep drains and an iron pipe, from an elevation about a mile to the south ; but owing to its passing through some ochre springs and a mossy soil, it is impregnated with muddy particles, especially after a heavy fall of rain. There are, however, a few excellent spring wells in the town and suburbs.

FEMALE CHARITABLE SOCIETY.—This is a

society of benevolent ladies, instituted for the relief of the indigent poor and sick belonging to the town. It is supported entirely by voluntary contributions. Its affairs are conducted by a committee of eight, who are chosen annually, and who personally visit the objects of their charity, and supply their necessities as far as the funds of the society will admit.

FLORAL AND HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.—This society was instituted in 1833 for the purpose of exhibiting such specimens of fruits, flowers, and vegetables, as the neighbouring gardens might produce, and of awarding prizes to the successful competitors. It holds its exhibitions four times during each summer in the town hall, to which the public are admitted for a trifling payment. After the exhibition is over, the specimens are formed into a lottery, and the tickets, all of which entitle to prizes of more or less value, are sold to those present for 6d. each. The fund thus raised is distributed in rewards to the successful candidates.

LODGINGS.—St Andrews is much resorted to in the summer as a sea-bathing place. There are many convenient lodging-houses for the accommodation of strangers.

COACHES.—There are coaches on certain days to Largo, Cupar, and Dundee. No steam-boat touches at St Andrews; but the Largo coach communicates with a steamer which plies daily between that port and Newhaven.

MARKETS AND FAIRS.—There is a corn market held in the Market Street every Monday, and an egg and butter market every Wednesday and Saturday morning. Fish are brought to the houses for sale, but fruit and vegetables must be purchased from the gardens. Bread and beer are here particularly good. There are three annual fairs—the second Thursday in April O.S. the first of August O.S. and the thirtieth of November O.S.

WALKS.—The best walks in the immediate vicinity of the town are the Scores, the Links, and the West Sands. There is also one to the south-east, along the coast, leading to some singularly shaped rocks situated on the sea-side; one of which is called the Spindle Rock, from its having a perpendicular pinnacle like a distaff at one end, and a crystallization resembling the spokes of a wheel at the other. These rocks are about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the town; and if the pedestrian go by the beach, he may see on his way a spacious cave called Kinkell Cave. The best views of St An-

drews, its spacious bay, and distant hills beyond, are from the summits of two eminences called East and West Balremont ; the former, two miles to the south-east, and the latter, a mile and a half to the south-west of the town. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the prospect from these points, especially the former, in the afternoon of a clear day in summer. The mountain of Shihallion is distinctly visible in the north-west.

MAGUS MUIR, THE SCENE OF ARCHBISHOP SHARP'S MURDER.—This spot, which is still called “Bishop's Wood,” lies about three miles to the west of the town, on the property of J. Whyte Melville, Esq. A rude stone is there erected to the memory of Andrew Guilan, a Covenanter, one of the primate's assassins.* This man had been a weaver in Balmerino. He was tried and executed at Edinburgh, four years after the murder : his head was fixed up at Cupar, and his body hung in chains on Magus Muir ; but it was soon after taken down by some of his friends, and buried on the spot. The stone which marks the grave contains an inscription describing him as “a faith-

* The itinerant must not mistake this spot for one about a mile to the south, where an exact copy of Guilan's grave-stone is erected by a neighbouring proprietor, (with what view I have not been able to learn,) and surrounded with a neat shrubbery.

ful martyr," and asserting that "his blood cries for vengeance on Christ's enemies." It is remarkable that this man, and Haxton of Rathillet, of all the nine who were engaged in the murder, were the only two that were ever taken. Haxton, who is called by Wodrow a person of "remarkable piety(!)" was made prisoner at the skirmish at Air-moss in 1680, and was tried and executed at Edinburgh. His body, according to the custom of the times, was divided into four parts, one of which was sent to St Andrews.* About a stone's throw to the west of Guillan's monument, in an open field, there is the grave (which has never been ploughed over to this day) of five men who were taken prisoners at Bothwell-Brig in June 1679. They were tried, and condemned to death, for (among other charges) "protecting the murderers of Archbishop Sharp, contriving the overthrow of the fundamental laws of church and state, declaring the king an usurper, and denying that their being taken in arms against his majesty was rebellion." Their sentence was, that "they be carried to the Muir of Magus, in the sheriffdom of Fife, the place where his grace the Arch-

* See a long account of Haxton's trial and execution in Cobbett's *State Trials*, 1684, in which all the evidence against him is minutely detailed, and many interesting particulars connected with the primate's murder brought forward.

bishop of St Andrews was murdered, upon the 18th November inst., and there be hanged till they be dead, and their bodies to be hung in chains till they rot, and all their lands, goods, and gear, to fall to his majesty's use.”*

NEIGHBOURING PROPRIETORS OF SEATS.—Mrs Cheape of Strathtyrum; Alexander Meldrum, Esq., of East Kincapple; David Wemyss, Esq., of Denbrae; J. Whyte Melville, Esq., of Bennoch and Strathkinness; William Lyndsay, Esq., of Feddinch; Peter Cleghorn, Esq., of Wakefield; David Monypenny, Esq., of Pitmilley; David Glass, Esq., of Smiddygreen.

OBJECTS OF INTEREST TO STRANGERS.—Cathedral Ruins and Cemetery; St Regulus' Tower; Castle; St Salvator's College, including Bishop Kennedy's Monument, Silver Mace, &c.; Archbishop Sharp's Monument in the Town Church; St Mary's College, and University Library; Ma-

* Wodrow, Book III. sect. iii. I am told that the Cameronians, who are now the only representatives of the old Covenanters, still make a sort of pilgrimage, from time to time, for the purpose of visiting and performing their devotions at these tombs. They do the same thing every year at Bothwell and Air-moss. There is nothing inconsistent in this; but it affords a curious instance of *extremes meeting*. No two classes of Christians can be more opposite than Papists and Covenanters, and yet they both agree in worshipping at the tombs of their saints and martyrs.

dras College, and Ruin in front of it; Pends, or **Ruinous Gateway of the Priory**; Axe with which **Sir Robert Spotswood** and other Royalists were beheaded by the Covenanters, p. 123.

THE END.

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EDINBURGH PRINTING COMPANY.

•• There are a few *Errata* in the work which, it is hoped, the reader will excuse, when he is informed that it was printed in Edinburgh, when the author was necessarily resident in St Andrews. The following are the most material :—

Page	66,	line	20,	<i>for</i>	Holiness	<i>read</i>	holiness.
„	70,	„	5,	„	popacie	„	papacie.
„	83,	„	8,	„	professor	„	professors.
„	95,	„	10,	„	works	„	works.*
„	183,	„	3,	„	Hadon	„	Haddow.
„	189,	„	3,	„	body-chapel	„	lady-chapel.
„	193,	„	20,	„	any	„	every.
„	214,	„	15,	„	art	„	act.
„	216,	„	22,	„	canta	„	cauta.
„	216,	„	24,	„	prasim	„	prosim.

